OHIO STATE

VOL. IX NO. 1

AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS

A JOURNAL OF PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM

25 CENTS MONTHLY

ANDREW J. PALM AND HENRY RANDALL WAITE EDITORS.

ONE YEAR $3.00

JULY, 1896.

THE CONCERNS OF CIVICS AS GOOD GOVERNMENT GOOD CITIZENSHIP RIGHT SOCIAL ORDER. FROM JUST PRINCIPLES, AND RIGHT PRACTICE IN MORAL ETHICS, CIVIL POLITY, CIVIL LAW AND ECONOMICS. FROM POPULAR INTELLIGENCE, VIRTUE, THRIFT. FOR THE COMMONWEAL OF THE NATION, STATE, COMMUNITY AND HOME.

IS THE FOREIGNER A MENACE TO THE NATION? . W. G. PUDDEFOOT.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, VENEZUELA, CUBA, AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON . . . . . BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

IS THE DOUBLE STANDARD DESIRABLE AND IS IT POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN IT? . . . W. A. RICHARDSON.

THE SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN CALIFORNIA . . . . . ADELINE KNAPP.

HOW TO MAKE THE VICE-PRESIDENCY ATTRACTIVE . . . . . LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

MUNICIPAL HOME RULE . . . . . CLARENCE S. PALMER.

THE RELATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO HISTORY . J. W. LOWBER.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM . . . . . ALICE L. WOODBRIDGE.

"WOMAN'S NATURAL DEBARMENTS FROM POLITICAL SERVICE": A REPLY . . . MRS. A. L. CORNWALL.

THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS . . . . . T. CARLETON L. KETCHUM.

INTERNATIONAL LAW—DUTY OF NEUTRAL NATIONS . JOHN GIBBONS.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK:

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS: The American Guard Movement; Col. H. H. Adams; Centenary Washington's Farewell; Rev. Josiah Strong; Prof. W. H. Goodale; Lucian E. Carter; Charles P. Harris; Margherita Arlina Hamm; Hon. Charles R. Skinner; A. D. Gaines; Rev. John Bascom; No Color Line in Good Citizenship.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES: Reports from Various Cities.

CIVICS IN GENERAL: Ballot Protection; Better Citizenship and then Better Politics; "What is Patriotism?"; Woman's Opportunity; John Brisben Walker; No Choice Between Bosses; The Influence of the Press; Hon. Will A. McTeer; E. L. Rector; Sunday Institute of Civics; Indian Progress; Sabbath Observance.

CIVICS PUBLISHING COMPANY
NEW YORK - 38 PARK ROW

BOSTON CHICAGO WASHINGTON
PHILADELPHIA ST. LOUIS NEW ORLEANS

JA 2 A5 v.9

FUNK & WAGNALLS'

STANDARD DICTIONARY

It is the Latest and Most Complete.
Contains 301,865 words, many thousand more than any other dictionary ever published. More than $960,000 were expended in its production. 247 Specialists and Editors were engaged in its preparation.

It is a Government Authority.
It is in use in all the departments of the United States Government at Washington, and all the departments of the Dominion of Canada.

It is Adopted in the Public Schools
of New York City and elsewhere. Its new educational features are extremely valuable in training pupils to a correct use of words, capitals, hyphens, etc. Its illustrations are superb. Its tables of coins, weights, and measures, plants, animals, etc., are exhaustive and cannot be found elsewhere.

The London Times says: "The merits of the Standard Dictionary are indisputable and are abundantly attested by a large number of unimpeachable authorities."

Sold only by Subscription. Agents wanted.

PRICES:

	In 1 vol.	In 2 vols.
Half Russia	$15.00	$18.00
Full Russia	18.00	22.00
Morocco	22.00	26.00

FUNK & WAGNALLS CO.,
30 Lafayette Pl., NEW YORK.

Tips to Lawyers!

★

IF

YOU ARE A COMMERCIAL LAWYER AND BELIEVE IN

Advertising

YOU SHOULD SELECT CAREFULLY THE

MEDIUM

The Lawyer and Credit Man

And Financial-Trade-Press Review

PRODUCES *RESULTS*

AND THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

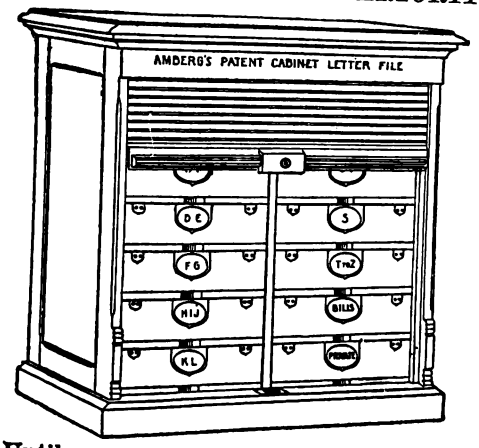
★

Sample copy sent free if you will mention this magazine.

WINSBOROUGH-IRVINE CO.,
Times Building, NEW YORK.

STILL LEADING! : : STILL ADVANCING!

THIS MEANS SUPERIORITY AND IMPLIES PROGRESS.



AMBERG'S

Cabinet Letter File

IS A SIMPLE SYSTEM

for filing letters, bills, etc., so you can find them when wanted. No business or professional man should be without this valuable article.

In fact, any one who wishes to preserve correspondence ought to possess an AMBERG CABINET.

—o—

You Don't Have to Buy

Until you are satisfied that the purchase is worth the investment. We stand ready to : : : send a Cabinet anywhere to reputable parties on Thirty Days' Trial. : : :

Then Why Not Accept

our proposition for a trial? We'll be pleased to send illustrated catalogue on application.

AMBERG FILE & INDEX CO.,
79 AND 81 DUANE STREET,
NEW YORK.

CHICAGO. LONDON.

Organized, 1878. Incorporated, 1886.

AMERICAN COLLECTING AND REPORTING ASSOCIATION.

BRADFORD A. BULLOCK, Attorney-at-Law, *General Manager.*

Office Directory Department,
38 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

Home Office,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

RALPH W. NOWLIN, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

Other Offices: DENVER, SAN FRANCISCO.

DIRECTORY OF ASSOCIATE ATTORNEYS.

A WORD TO OUR COMMERCIAL MEMBERS.

(1) Every attorney whose name appears in this directory has endorsed a contract, in accord with the terms herein specified, and we believe every attorney herein named is a *reliable* and *trustworthy* correspondent. We especially request that you notify us should any be found otherwise.

(2) We furnish our commercial subscribers all the necessary blanks for use in securing reports free of charge, and shall consider it a favor to have orders for them.

You are requested to familiarize yourself with the cipher key, and *in writing or wiring for special reports do not overlook the forty cents.*

(3) In forwarding claims for collection, should there not be an attorney named in the town or county where the debtor resides, send the claim to this office direct. *We shall consider it a special favor from our patrons to give us the names of reliable attorneys residing in towns where no correspondent is named in this directory.*

RATES FOR COLLECTION.

(*a*) On amounts over $1,000, 3 per cent; (*b*) on amounts over $200 to $1,000, 5 per cent on excess of $200; (*c*) on amounts over $50 to $200, 10 per cent on excess of $50; (*d*) on amounts of $50 or less, 15 per cent, *provided*, that the (*e*) minimum fee without suit shall be not less than $3, and (*f*) minimum fee with suit, $5, plus above commissions, but both "minimum fees" shall not be charged on one and the same collection; (*g*) no collection, no charge—unless suit is ordered, or extra expense incurred at express order of claimant.

☞Members desiring reports on the financial worth of their customers will be supplied with reliable and up-to-date information anywhere at rate of forty cents for single reports or three for one dollar.

DIVISION OF FEES.

(*a*) When claim is received by an attorney from a *commercial member* of our association, then *the attorney making collection retains all the above commission.* (*b*) When claim is received by an attorney from the association direct, then one fourth of the commission goes to the association, and the *receiving attorney retains three fourths.* (*c*) When a claim is forwarded by an *associate* attorney, the *forwarding* attorney gets *one third* and *the receiving attorney retains two thirds.* (*d*) When (in exceptional cases) a claim is forwarded to us by an associate attorney, then by us to another attorney, the attorney making the collection is so advised and retains one half the commission, and one fourth goes to the forwarding attorney, and one fourth to the association.

CIPHER CODE.

The name "American" must be prefixed to every telegram when using this code.

INSTRUCTIONS.

Question.
American.—Indiana: Has there been any change in the condition of affairs of ..... since last report?
Answer.
American.—Indianapolis: There has been no change in condition of affairs of ..... since last report.

QUESTIONS.

Alabama: Have you received our letter of .....?
Arizona: What line of business is he (or they) engaged in, prospects, and value of stock in said business?
Arkansas: Is party about whom this inquiry is made married?
California: Any real estate? If so, its worth, and in whose name is the title?
Colorado: To what race or nationality does ....., or do ....., belong?
Connecticut: Advise us whether ..... is an incorporated company and, if so, its paid up capital stock, and the names of officers.
Delaware: What is the credit of ....., and upon what is it founded?
Florida: Has ..... mortgaged either his or their real estate, if so, for how much and to whom?
Georgia: Has ..... mortgaged his or their stock of goods or personal property, if so, for how much and to whom?
Iowa: Shall we institute suit on your claim vs. .....?
Illinois: ..... is willing to compromise your claim against him (or them) by a cash settlement of $..... Shall we accept same?
Indiana: Has there been any change in the condition of affairs of ..... since last report?

ANSWERS.

Montgomery: We have received your letter of ....., and answer same on ..... .
Tucson: In answer to your wire, ... is engaged in ..... business. Prospects are ..... . His stock of goods is valued at $..... .
Little Rock: In reply to your inquiry as to whether the person named by you is married, we beg to report that ..... .

A 43054

San Francisco: The person about whom you inquire has real estate valued at $....., with ..... incumbrance. The title is in name of .....

Sacramento: The person about whom you inquire has no real estate.

Denver: In reply to your inquiry as to the nationality of ....., we beg to report that .....

New Haven: ..... is an incorporated company. Capital stock paid in is $..... ....., President; ....., Secretary; ..... Treasurer.

Hartford: This concern is not an incorporated company, but is a partnership consisting of ....., with estimated capital of $.....

Dover: ..... credit is good and is founded on .....

Wilmington: ..... credit is poor. We would advise you to make no sale until you hear from us by next mail.

Tallahassee: ..... has mortgaged real estate for $..... to .....

Pensacola ..... has not mortgaged real estate for any amount.

Atlanta: ..... has mortgaged his personal property for $..... to .....

Macon: ..... has not mortgaged personal property for any amount.

Des Moines: Institute suit on our claim vs. ..... at once. We have arranged bond for costs with ..... bank in .....

Burlington: Do not institute suit vs. ..... We send you letter by next mail.

Chicago: Accept ..... proposition for a payment of $..... in settlement.

Bloomington: Do not accept ..... proposition. We will take nothing less than $.....

Indianapolis: There has been no change in condition of affairs of ..... since last report.

Evansville: There has been considerable change in the condition of ..... since last report. We mail you particulars to-day.

RELATING TO CREDITORS.

In using the following words, prefix the name "American" to every telegram.

Can: Sold out.
Care: Burned out, no insurance.
Careless: Burned out, only partially insured.
Careful: Have burned out, fully insured.
Careworn: Being pressed by creditors.
Caught: Creditors have commenced bankrupt proceedings.
Caution: Have dissolved partnership.
Chattel: Personal property has been mortgaged.
Clique: Has gone into liquidation.
Confound: Have made an assignment.
Confuse: Sheriff has taken possession.
Conquer: Suspended payment.
Costly: Have failed.
Create: Real estate has been mortgaged.
Cross: Has made a transfer of stock which indicates fraud.
Cunning: Conferring with creditors with view of compromise settlement.
Cured: Has been sued.
Curious: Seem to have some difficulty between (or among) themselves.

LIST OF ATTORNEYS.

Arranged alphabetically, according to states, and giving address by town and county.

ALABAMA.

Bessemer, Jefferson, see Birmingham.
Mobile, Mobile, Fielding Vaughan, 65 St. Francis St.
Pratt City, Jefferson, see Birmingham.

ARIZONA.

Phœnix, Maricopa, H. F. Robinson.
Tempe, Maricopa, W. J. Kingsbury.

ARKANSAS.

El Dorado, Union, Coffee & Sheppard.
Fayetteville, Washington, W. L. Stuckey.
Pocahontas, Randolph, S. A. D. Eaton.

CALIFORNIA.

Colusa, Colusa, Ernest Weyand.
Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Emmons & Emmons.
Oakland, Alameda, Fox & Gray.
Pasadena, Los Angeles, V. L. Ward.
Paso Robles, San Luis Obispo, George F. Witter, Jr.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.,

EMMONS & EMMONS,

ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW,

209 and 210 Spreckles Building.

References: Wells Fargo & Co.'s Bank, or any jobber.

Offices also at Los Angeles, Sacramento, Portland, and Salem.

Attorneys for the Emmons Associated Law Offices of Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco, Portland, Salem, Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane.

Woodland, Yolo, Chas. P. Summers.

COLORADO.

Colorado Springs, El Paso, J. E. McIntyre.

JAMES A. KILTON,

DENVER, COLORADO.

Practitioner in all courts; real estate, commercial, corporation, and mining law; collections and depositions. Notary Public.

Refers to John S. Dove, Jr., Philadelphia; German-American Savings Bank Co., Cleveland; Bankers and Merchants' Ass'n., Chicago; First Nat'l Bank, Denver; Law and Credit Co., Kansas City; Fifield & Fifield, St. Paul; Stationers' Board of Trade, N. Y.; History Co., San Francisco.

Grand Junction, Mesa, O'Connor & Sternberg.
Pueblo, Pueblo, Wm. B. Vates.

CONNECTICUT.

Litchfield, Litchfield, Chas. D. Burrill.
New Haven, New Haven, Wm. A. Wright.

DELAWARE.

Wilmington, New Castle, H. H. Ward.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington, Washington, Ralston & Siddons.

FLORIDA.

Jacksonville, Duval, Henry C. Goodell.
Palatka, Putnam, S. J. Hilburn.
St. Augustine, St. John's, Wm. F. Forward.

GEORGIA.

Arabi, Dooly, see Cordele.
Ashburn, Worth, see Cordele.

ATLANTA,

WILLIAM C. LOWE.

Improved facilities for handling all manner of claims in Atlanta and vicinity.
Collection and Corporation law a specialty.
Remittances made on day of collection.
Refer to Atlanta National Bank, Third National Bank, and Neal Loan and Banking Co.

Brunswick, Glynn, Johnson & Krauss.
Cedartown, Polk, Jos. A. Blance.
Cordele, Dooly, Zera A. Littlejohn.
Fitzgerald, Twiggs, W. F. Way.
Monroe, Walton, B. S. Walker.
Newman, W. G. Post.
Rochelle, Wilcox, see Cordele.
Rome, Floyd, Halstead Smith.
Vienna, Dooly, see Cordele.

ILLINOIS.

Amboy, see Paw Paw.
Ashton, see Paw Paw.
Augusta, Hancock, Sterling P. Lemmon.
Bloomington, Kerrick, Spencer & Bracken.
Bushnell, McDonough, Solon Banfill.
Centralia, Marion, Chas. F. Dew.
Chicago, 143 La Salle St., Thornton & Chancellor.
Chrisman, see Paris.
Clinton, De Witt, John Fuller.

Danville, Vermilion, Fred Draper.
Decatur, Macon, Whitfield & Deck.
DeKalb, see Paw Paw.
Dixon, see Paw Paw.
Earlville, see Paw Paw.
East St. Louis, St. Clair, Silas Cook.
Franklin Grove, see Paw Paw.
Hinckley, see Paw Paw.
Kankakee, Kankakee, A. E. Smith.
Kansas, see Paris.
Kinmundy, Marion, Chas. H. Holt.
Morris, Grundy, E. Sanford.
Mt. Vernon, Jefferson, Eugene M. Peavler.
Paris, Edgar, W. O. Roach.
Paw Paw, Lee, Charles F. Preston.
Pittsfield, Pike, Arthur C. Bentley.
Rochelle, see Paw Paw.
Sandwich, see Paw Paw.
Sycamore, see Paw Paw.
Vandalia, Fayette, Jno. J. Strafford.
Windsor, Shelby, James T. Poe.
Woodstock, McHenry, V. S. Lumley.

INDIANA.

Andrews, Huntington, F. M. Cole.
Ashley, T. S. Wickwire.
Bloomington, Monroe, Louden & Louden.
Bluffton, Wells, Wilson & Todd.
Brazil, Clay, Jas. A. Smith.
Clinton, Vermillion, D. C. Johnson.
Columbus, Bartholomew, John W. Morgan.
Crawfordsville, Montgomery, Jno. L. Shrum.
Elwood, Madison, Greenlee & Call.
Evansville, Vanderburgh, Graham F. Denby.
Fort Wayne, Allen, Vesey & Heaton.
Frankfort, Clinton, Joseph C. Suit.
Goshen, Elkhart, E. E. Mummert.
Greenfield, Hancock, Mason & Jackson.
Hammond, Lake, J. G. Ibach.

INDIANAPOLIS,

BRADFORD A. BULLOCK,

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.

Notary and stenographers in office. COMMERCIAL LAW ESPECIALLY. Careful attention to all legal matters. Immediate remittances.
Reference: Capital National Bank. Others furnished upon application, anywhere.

Jasper, Dubois, Milburn & Sweeney.
La Fayette, Wilber F. Severson.
La Porte, La Porte, Mortimer Nye.
Lebanon, Boone, J. O. Pedigo.
Milford, Kosciusko, Neff & Neff.
Monon, White, O. McConahay.
Muncie, Delaware, Ellis & Walterhouse.
Plymouth, Marshall, R. B. Oglesbee.
Princeton, Gibson, Land & Gamble.
Rising Sun, Ohio, Jas. E. Craft.
South Bend, St. Joseph, J. D. Henderson.
Sullivan, Sullivan, John S. Bays.
Terre Haute, Vigo, A. M. Higgins, Opera House Block.
Winchester, Randolph, Diggs & Bale.
Worthington, Greene, W. L. Rude.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Ardmore, Chickasaw, Garrett & Hardy.
Muscogee, Creek Nation, Harrison O. Shepard.
South McAlester, Choctaw Nation, Grove & Shepard.

IOWA.

Audubon, Audubon, F. E. Brainard.
Carroll, Carroll, Lee & Robb.
Clinton, Clinton, McCoy Bros.
Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie, Sims & Bainbridge.
Creston, Union, Wisdom & Wright.
Denison, Crawford, J. P. Conner.
Des Moines, Polk, Witmer & Strock.
Harlan, Shelby, Whitney Bros.
Iowa City, Johnson, Baker & Ball.
Le Mars, Plymouth, I. S. Struble.
Manning, see Carroll.
Mt. Pleasant, Henry, H. A. Ambler.
Osage, Mitchell, G. F. Humbert.
Osceola, Polk, Temple & Hardinger.
Rock Rapids, Lyon, Stillman & Hoopes.
Sioux City, Woodbury, Geo. Conway.
Spencer, Clay, Cornwall & Martin.
Storm Lake, Buena Vista, F. J. Parr.

KANSAS.

Atchinson, Atchinson, Jackson & Jackson.
Leavenworth, Leavenworth, J. H. Wendorff.
Salina, Saline, Bond & Osborn.
Topeka, Shawnee, Bradford & Huron.

KENTUCKY.

Bardwell, Carlisle, J. M. Nichols & Son.
Campton, Wolfe, Joseph C. Lykins.
Flemingsburg, Fleming, Thos. L. Given.
Maysville, Mason, Milton Johnson.
Newport, Campbell, N. L. Bennett.

LOUISIANA.

Franklin, St. Mary, J. Sanders.
Monroe, Ouachita, Gunby & Sholars.

NEW ORLEANS,

JOSEPH N. WOLFSON.

References: Constituent Member of the United Commercial Lawyers; Member of the National Clearing House; The United Law and Collection Offices; Union National Bank of New Orleans.

MAINE.

Belfast, Waldo, Fred W. Brown.
Eastport, Washington, Jno. H. McFaul.

MARYLAND.

Baltimore, Hyland P. Stewart, Equitable Bldg.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.

JOHN HASKELL BUTLER,

Counsellor at Law.

Office equipped for prompt work in any department of commercial law.

Reference: Winthrop National Bank, Boston.

Norwood, Norfolk, N. L. Sheldon.
Springfield, Hampden, Chas. E. Hoag, 476 Main St.

MICHIGAN.

Albion, Calhoun, Frederick Mains, Notary Public.
Bay City, Bay, James Donnelly, Fay Block.
Belding, Ionia, H. L. Van Benschoten.
Brown City, Sanilac, Fred A. Farr.
Charlotte, Eaton, Lyman H. McCall.
Croswell, Sanilac, Sidney S. Cole.
Flint, Genesee, Sayles & Sayles.
Grand Rapids, Kent, Wm. J. Stuart.
Ithaca, Gratiot, E. H. Ashley.
Ironwood, Gogebic, John D. Barry.
Jackson, Jackson, Forrest O. Badgeley.
Jonesville, Hillsdale, S. D. McNeal.
Lake Ann, Benzie, C. H. Thomas.
Lansing, Ingham, Harry E. Hooker.
Litchfield, see Jonesville.
Manistee, Manistee, Geo. L. Hilliker.
Marlette, Sanilac, see Brown City.
Mt. Pleasant, Isabella, H. A. Sanford.
North Adams, see Jonesville.
Saginaw, E. S., Saginaw, Frank M. Totten.
Saginaw, W., see E. Saginaw.
Three Rivers, St. Joseph, S. M. Constantine.
West Bay City, Bay, see Bay City.
West Branch, Ogemaw, Wm. T. Yeo.

MINNESOTA.

Albert Lea, Freeborn, Albert Lea Collection & Insurance Agency.
Ashley, A. S. King.
Duluth, St. Louis, Smith & McMahon.
Hubbard, Hubbard, Asaiah H. Bradford.
Mankato, Blue Earth, W. L. Comstock.
Minneapolis, Hennepin, Fifield & Fifield.
Moorhead, Clay, E. Adams.
Red Wing, Goodhue, Boynton & Stevens.
Richmond, Winona, M. A. Bussen.

ST. PAUL,

MORPHY, EWING, GILBERT & EWING,
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS,
Rooms 609-610-611-612 Manhattan Building,
Collections receive prompt and effective attention.

Virginia, Cass, J. D. Taylor.
Waseca, Waseca, F. B. Andrews.
Waterville, Le Seuer, M. R. Everett.
Winona, Winona, Berry & Morey.
Worthington, Nobles, C. M. Candall.

MISSISSIPPI.

Biloxi, Harrison, White & Neville.
Ellisville, Jones, Shannon & Shannon.
Rosedale, Bolivar, Chas. Scott.

MISSOURI.

Chillicothe, Davis, Loomis & Davis.
Kansas City, Jackson, Metcalf & Brady, New York Life Building.
Sedalia, Pettis, Allen & Barrett.
Shelbyville, Shelby, Loyd & Loyd.
St. Cloud, Stearns, Calhoun & Bennett.
St. Joseph, Buchanan, W. E. Stringfellow.

ST. LOUIS,
41, 42, 43, and 44 DE MENIL BUILDING.
JAMES L. HOPKINS, *Attorney.*
Immediate attention to every form of civil legal business. Eight years' practice in St. Louis.

MONTANA.

Butte, Silver Bow, Chas. O'Donnell.
Helena, Lewis and Clarke, Walsh & Newman.
Missoula, Missoula, F. C. Webster.

NEBRASKA.

Auburn, Nemaha, E. Ferneau.
Broken Bow, Custer, James Ledwich.
Butte, Silver Bow, Geo. F. Kapp.
Fairbury, Jefferson, John C. Hartigan.
Humboldt, Richardson, E. A. Tucker.
Kearney, Buffalo, Dryden & Main.
Omaha, Horton & Blackburn, Attorneys for R. G. Dun & Co.
Ord, Valley, Clements Bros.
Seward, Seward, M. D. Carey.
Weeping Water, Cass, J. H. Haldeman.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Nashua, Hillsborough, Wm. J. McKay.

NEW JERSEY.

Asbury Park, Monmouth, David Harvey, Jr.

NEW MEXICO.

Albuquerque, Bernalillo, R. W. D. Bryan.

NEW YORK.

Buffalo, Erie, Frank H. Button.
Ithaca, Gratiot, Jas. L. Baker.

NEW YORK CITY,
PARK ROW, POTTER BUILDING.
AMERICAN COLLECTING AND REPORTING ASSOCIATION.
C. B. PALMER, General Counsel.
Continuously in business since 1878. Collections made everywhere. Special mercantile reports. Correspondence solicited. Depositions. Immediate remittances.

Poughkeepsie, Duchess, J. H. Millard.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Grand Forks, Grand Forks, F. H. McDermott.
Steele, Kidder, Chas. H. Stanley.

OHIO.

Ashtabula, Ashtabula, G. W. Belknap.
Bellville, Richmond, C. Burt Hines.
Cincinnati, Hamilton, Cobb & Howard, Blymyer Block.
Cleveland, Cuyahoga, White, Johnson, McCaslin & Cannon.
Columbus, Franklin, Harry R. Wilson, Y. M. C. A. Building.
Dayton, Montgomery, Benj. F. McCann, 24 N. Main St.
Defiance, Defiance, Benj. B. Kingsbury.
Elyria, Lorain, H. W. Ingersol.
Hamilton, Butler, Jas. P. Whitmore, 168 High St.
Mansfield, Richland, Bell, Brinkerhoff & Mengert.
Norwalk, Huron, Andrews Bros.
Painesville, Lake, A. C. Pepoon.
Portsmouth, Scioto, A. F. McCormick.
Sidney, Shelby, S. L. Wicoff.
Toledo, Lucas, Casper W. Neilson.
Warren, Trumbull, Robert T. Izant.
Wellston, Jackson, E. B. Bingham.

OREGON.

Baker City, Baker, M. L. Olmsted.

PORTLAND,
EMMONS & EMMONS,
Attorneys for the Emmons Associated Law Offices of San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma.
☞ Foreign business a specialty.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Allegheny, Allegheny, see Pittsburg.
Altoona, Blair, J. L. Leisenring.
Beaver Falls, Beaver, Gilbert L. Eberhart.
Braddock, Allegheny, see Pittsburg.
Brookville, Jefferson, Alexander C. & John M. White.
Chambersburg, Franklin, Geo. W. Atherton.
Duquesne, Allegheny, see Pittsburg.
Erie, Erie, Fish & Crosby.
Franklin, Venango, J. H. Osmer & Sons.
Harrisburg, Dauphin, S. S. Rupp.
Homestead, Allegheny, see Pittsburg.
Indiana, Indiana, W. L. Stewart.
Kittanning, Armstrong, H. L. Golden.
McKeesport, Allegheny, B. C. & H. L. Christy.
Meadville, Crawford, Geo. W. Porter.
Mt. Carmel, Northumberland, Preston A. Vought.
Oil City, Venango, see Franklin.
Pittsburg, Allegheny, B. C. & H. L. Christy.
Tyrone, Stevens, Owens & Pascoe.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston, Charleston, Mordecai & Gadsden.
Pickens, C. H., Pickens, W. F. Blassingame.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Deadwood, Lawrence, Coe & Edmonds.
Mound City, Campbell, A. Sutherland.
Rapid City, Pennington, Chas. W. Brown.
Sioux Falls, Minnehaha, U. S. G. Cherry.

TENNESSEE.

Covington, Tipton, W. A. Owen.
Johnson City, Washington, Crumley & Crumley.
Knoxville, Knox, Ingersoll & Peyton.

TEXAS.

Brady, McCulloch, F. M. Newman.
Coleman, Coleman, T. J. White.
Fort Worth, Tarrant, Camp & Paddock.

HOUSTON, TEXAS,
317½ MAIN STREET.
JACOB C. BALDWIN,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.
Notary Public, Stenographer, and Typewriter in office.

Marshall, Harrison, Llewellyn Aubrey.
San Antonio, Bexar, Keller & Johnson.
Waxahachie, Ellis, I. M. Williams.

UTAH.

Ogden, Weber, A. G. Horn.
Provo City, Utah, Chas. De Moisy.
Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Booth, Lee & Gray.

VIRGINIA.

Alexandria, Alexandria, Louis C. Barley.
Charlottsville, Albemarle, Duke & Duke.
Culpeper, Culpeper, Hay & Jeffries.
Norfolk, Norfolk, Fentress & Anglasto.
Petersburg, Dinwiddie, Mann & Mann.
Portsmouth, Norfolk, E. M. Watts.
Richmond, Henrico, James Lyons.
Staunton, Augusta, L. W. H. Peyton.
Woodstock, Shenandoah, Walton & Walton.

WASHINGTON.

Olympia, Thurston, Geo. H. Funk.

SEATTLE,
McCLURE & BASS,
Attorneys for the Emmons Associated Law Offices of San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma.
Foreign business a specialty.

Spokane, Spokane, Millard T. Hartson.

TACOMA,
MURRAY & CHRISTIAN,
Attorneys for the Emmons Associated Law Offices of San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma.
Foreign business a specialty.
References: Union Savings Bank & Trust Co.; Scandinavian-American Bank; Tacoma Abstract & Title Insurance Co.; S. A. Gibbs & Co.; Judges of the Superior Court; Secretary Tacoma Chamber of Commerce.

Wilbur, Lincoln, E. A. Hesseltine.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Charleston, Kanawha, Couch, Flournoy & Price.

WISCONSIN.

Durand, Pepin, J. D. Eldridge.
Janesville, Rock, Fethers, Jeffries, Fifield & Mouat

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,
Rooms 63-67 Sentinel Building.
THE NORTHWESTERN
COLLECTION AGENCY
MOE & HANSEN, Attorneys.
Mercantile Collections. No Membership Fee.
Correspondents and Connections Everywhere.

ERNEST S. MOE, President. C. H. WILLIAMS, Sec'y and Manager.
OTTO R. HANSEN, Associate Counsel. JOSHUA STARK, Special Counsel.

Oconto, Oconto, Morrow & Lynch.
Oshkosh, Winnebago, Davidson & Wilde.
Racine, Racine, Cooper & Nelson.
Viroqua, Vernon, J. Henry Bennett.
West Superior, Douglas, Arnold & Arnold.

WYOMING.

Cheyenne, E. W. Mann.

THE MEETING AT OMAHA.

It is expected that there will be a large attendance at the meeting of the Commercial Law League, from July 21-24, inclusive.

The writer found, while at the Millard Hotel in the early part of May, that nearly all of the best rooms had been engaged by persons who expected to attend the meeting. By the "best" rooms, we mean only those that are conveniently located for use as "headquarters." There were several suitable rooms yet remaining for guests.

There are a number of other good hotels in Omaha, but it is expected that they will be well filled by members of the League, and their friends.

We shall be pleased to see our correspondents and their friends in "Parlor 3," on ground floor. No admission fee is charged, and we hope to have, during these four days, the pleasure of renewing acquaintance of many persons whom we met in Detroit last year, and of forming new acquaintances among many claim forwarders and claim receivers throughout the United States.

We print below the program as revised to date, and which bespeaks, in a measure, the interest that will be manifested at the meeting.

PROGRAM.

TUESDAY, JULY 21.
10:00 o'clock A. M.

Call to order.....Pres. W. C. Sprague.
Opening Prayer.
Address of Welcome.....Hon. W. J. Broatch, Mayor of Omaha.
Hon. Chas. F. Weller, Pres. Com'l Club of Omaha.
Responses.....John B. Green, New York, and Chas. N. Fox, San Francisco.
Miscellaneous Business.
Announcements, etc.
2:00 o'clock P. M.
Annual Address.....Pres. W. C. Sprague.
Annual Report of Corresponding Sec'y...G. S. Hull.
Annual Report of Treas.....Edward K. Sumerwell.
Annual Report of Executive Committee, Hon. E. M. Bartlett.
Theme, "The Commercial Law Practice."
Address, "Ethics of Commercial Law." Hill Montague, Richmond, Va.
Address, "The Commercial Law Practice—Its Dignity and Usefulness." J. F. Burke, Milwaukee, Wis.
Address, "Commercial Law as a Specialty." E. F. Wellington, Rochester, N. Y.
Discussion.
Miscellaneous Business.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.
9:30 o'clock A. M.

Annual Report, Committee on Legal Education and Admission to the Bar, Chairman, Martin Clark, Buffalo, N. Y.
Annual Report, Committee on Grievances, Chairman, Chas. R. Miller, Canton, Ohio.
Annual Report, Com. on Membership.....Chairman.
Annual Report, Committee on Judiciary, Chairman, E. C. Ferguson, Chicago, Ill.
Discussion.
2:00 o'clock P. M.

Address, "Control of Trusts and Monopolies." Hon. Benj. Butterworth, Cincinnati, O.
Theme, "Needed Law Reforms, State and National."
Address.....J. N. Baxter, Denver, Col.
Address, "Reform in Judicial Procedure." A. J. Herschl, Chicago.
Address, "The Enforcement of Creditors' Rights in Indiana." Louis Newberger, Indianapolis, Ind.

PROGRAM (Continued).

Address.....C. A. Dudley, Des Moines, Iowa.
Address, "Needed Amendments of the Assignment Laws of Kansas."
J. V. Daugherty, Wichita, Kansas.
Address, "Peculiarities of the Civil Law of Louisiana."....E. T. Florence, New Orleans, La.
Address, "The Attachment and Insolvency Laws of Massachusetts."
J. H. Butler, Boston, Mass.
Address.....L. H. Foster, Detroit.
Address, "Reform in Legislative Methods."
G. H. Fletcher, Minneapolis.
Address, "Preferential Assignments via Trust Deeds."....Chas. L. Simmons, St. Joseph, Mo.
Address.....F. W. Knowles, Newark.
Address, "Code of Civil Procedure."
C. H. Moore, Plattsburg, N. Y.
Address.....J. H. Cotteral, Guthrie, Ok. Ter.
Address, "The Assignment Law of Pennsylvania."
J. L. Leisenring, Altoona, Pa.
Address, "A Needed Reform."
U. S. G. Cherry, Sioux Falls, S. D.
Address.....C. A. Keller, San Antonio, Tex.
Address, "Exemptions, Preferences, and Judgment Notes."....C. D. Merrick, Parkersburg, W. Va.

Wednesday Evening, Reception.

THURSDAY, JULY 23.

9:30 o'clock A. M.

Reports of Special Committees.
Addresses by Collection Managers.
Up-to-date Method of Handling Rural Collections.
E. W. Gans, with Aultman & Taylor Mfg Co., Mansfield, Ohio.
Courtesies Due a Client by the Attorney.
G. H. McCall, with Russell & Co., Massillon, Ohio. G. P. Early, with Gaar, Scott & Co., Richmond, Ind.
Evils to Overcome as Judged by the Forwarder.
A. R. Urion, with Armour & Co., Chicago, Ills. C. C. Kirkpatrick, with P. P. Mast & Co., Springfield, O.
Model Reports on Claims.
A. T. Van Scoy, with Milwaukee Harv. Co., Milwaukee, Wis. J. S. Smith, with Scudder-Gale Gro. Co., St. Louis, Mo.
The Commercial Lawyer; The Secret of His Success and the Cause of His Failure.
O. L. Sadler, with Aultman, Miller & Co., Akron, Ohio.

Discussion.

Address, "What the Claim Forwarder Has to Contend With."....A. H. Gleason, N. Y.
Address, "Judgment Notes as a Factor in Commercial Law." C. A. Barnes, Jacksonville, Ill.

2:00 o'clock P. M.

Theme, "The Mercantile Agencies—Their Use and Abuse."
Addresses.....E. J. Whitehead, New York.
J. B. Sanborn, Chicago.
Geo. Clapperton, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Walter S. Stillman, Council Bluffs, Iowa, and
Frank Lindley, Danville, Ill.

4:00 P. M.

Special Sessions in Various Halls, viz.:
"Uniform Commercial Laws."
Addresses.....E. C. Ferguson, Chicago.
R. Y. Prigmore, Ft. Worth, Texas.
Emil Newman, Savannah, Ga.
"Requirements of the Modern Law Office."
Addresses .....W. W. Watts, Louisville, Ky.
E. G. Bennett, Des Moines, Iowa.
O. P. Cobb, Cincinnati, Ohio.
E. S. Moe, Milwaukee, Wis.
"Fraudulent Failures—Their Prevention and Remedy."
Address .....Josiah Cratty.
"Some Measures of Safety."
W. T. Stevens, Lincoln, Neb.
D. C. Cooley, Decatur, Ill.
"Necessity of Compelling Traders to Keep Books of Account."....A. V. Cannon, Cleveland, Ohio.
"The Business Organizations Among Lawyers."
U. C. Blake, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
E. M. Coffin, Lincoln, Neb.
J. P. Hornaday, Somerset, Ky.
T. Moultrie Mordecai, Charleston, S. C.

Thursday, P. M.

Special Session of Collection Managers.
"How can we get attorneys to thoroughly acquaint themselves with the peculiar detail of each particular kind of collection so as to enable them to do first-class work?".....A. J. Parlin, Canton Baking Powder Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.
"How to Get Best Service from Attorneys."
M. J. Stoll, Thomas Mfg. Co., Springfield, Ohio.
W. F. Miller, Tennent-Stribling Shoe Co., St. Louis, Mo.
"How Should Fees be Measured?"
W. W. Haggard, Rumeley & Co., La Porte, Ind.
D. D. Chamberlain, Chamberlain Medicine Co., Des Moines, Iowa.
"Negligence on the part of Attorneys in the Collection of Debts. Remedies."....H. J. Stolle, J. S. Merrill Drug Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Edwin J. Fisher, Winston, Farrington & Co., Minneapolis, Minn.
"An Ideal Chattel Mortgage Law."
F. C. Stillson, Nichols & Shepard Co., Battle Creek, Mich.
Chas. E. Walters, Chas. E. Walters & Co., Omaha, Neb.

Thursday Evening.

Banquet.

FRIDAY, 9:30 A. M.

Selection of next meeting place. Election of officers. Resolutions reported by committees and special sessions. Closing exercises.

2:00 P. M.

Trip to Lincoln, Neb.

To the Members and Friends of the Commercial Law League of America:

At a recent meeting of the Chicago members of the League, it was decided that they would go by the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, in specially provided cars. That all the League members and their friends going to Omaha via Chicago, or any taking the train along the line, *are requested to join in this arrangement.*

The Fast Overland Express is the finest train leaving Chicago, with all modern railroad equipment.

The train leaves at 6 p. m., July 20, arriving at Omaha at 8:10 the next morning.

The fare will be $17.00 for the round trip, $12.75 is paid going and $4.25 returning.

Lower or upper sleeper berth, $2.50 one way.

If you desire a reservation made for you on this train, advise *Mr. Ferguson, 84 La Salle Street, Chicago*, at as early a date as possible.

A large delegation have already engaged the accommodation. "*On to Omaha.*" Don't forget to bring your wife. There are *other* trains, but this is *the* train.

Yours truly,

E. C. FERGUSON,
EDWARD E. GRAY, } *Committee.*

Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Ticket Office, 208 South Clark Street. John L. Ferguson, Passenger Agent.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

Incorporated under the Laws of Congress.

PRESIDENT:

HENRY RANDALL WAITE, PH.D.

FACULTY:

(Coöperators in the formulation of plans and the direction of work.)

E. B. ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D., President Brown University, Providence, R. I.
EDWARD BROOKS, Ph.D., Supt. Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pa., Secretary Department Public School Work.
JAMES H. CANFIELD, Chancellor University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
WILLIAM W. FOLWELL, LL.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Hon. FRANCIS MARION BURDICK, LL.D., Columbia College School of Law, New York City.
ANDREW J. PALM, Editor *The American Magazine of Civics*, 38 Park Row, New York City, Secretary Department of the Press.
HENRY RANDALL WAITE, Ph.D., President, 38 Park Row, New York.
HUGHES D. SLATER, Manager *Public Opinion*, Washington, D. C., Director Extension Department.
ROBERT C. SPENCER, Milwaukee, Wis., Secretary Department Business Educators' Association of America.
DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON, Esq., 111 Broadway, New York City, Secretary Department of Legislation.
WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., LL.D., College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.
ARTHUR B. WOODFORD, Ph.D., School of Social Economics, 30 Union Square, New York City, Secretary College and Professional School Dep't.

OFFICERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

Mr. Justice WILLIAM STRONG, LL.D., U. S. Supreme Court, Chairman.
CEPHAS BRAINERD, Esq., 47 Cedar Street., New York, Vice-Chairman.
Dr. HENRY R. WAITE, 38 Park Row, N. Y., Sec'y.
Col. CHARLES H. DENISON, 38 Park Row, New York, Treasurer.
Dr. CORNELIUS N. HOAGLAND, 410 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., Auditor.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: W. H. DEPUY, Chairman, H. H. ADAMS, W. H. ARNOUX, CEPHAS BRAINERD, C. H. DENISON, C. N. HOAGLAND, H. R. WAITE.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD:

Elected. Term Expires 1898.

1894 Hon. E. B. SHERMAN, LL.D., Monadnock Building, Chicago, Ill.
1887 W. H. DEPUY, D.D., LL.D., 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
1887 MERRILL EDWARDS GATES, Ph.D., LD.D., President Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
1895 Rev. JOHN F. HURST, Bishop M. E. Church, Washington, D. C.
1885 Gen. HENRY B. CARRINGTON, LL.D., U. S. A., Hyde Park, Mass.
1885 Hon. WM. E. SHELDON, *New England Journal of Education*, Boston, Mass.
1895 Col. HENRY HERSCHEL ADAMS, 177 Broadway, New York City.
1892 Hon. JAMES A. BEAVER, LL.D., Ex-Gov. of Pennsylvania, Bellefonte, Pa.
1895 CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, Sec'y National Municipal League, 514 Walnut St., Phila., Pa.
1892 Hon. MARRIOTT BROSIUS, Member Congress, Lancaster, Pa.

Term Expires 1897.

1886 Hon. WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON, LL.D., Pres. Tulane Univ. of La., New Orleans, La.
1887 Rev. HENRY M. MCCRACKEN, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor University of City of New York, New York City.
1890 CEPHAS BRAINERD, Esq., 47 Cedar Street, New York City.
1896 GEO. BROWN GOODE, Ph.D., LL.D., Washington, D. C.
1888 Hon. W. W. SCARBOROUGH, Cincinnati, O.

Elected.

1893 HENRY FITCH BLOUNT, Esq., "The Oaks," Washington, D. C.
1894 Gen. JOSEPH CABELL BRECKENRIDGE, U.S.A., Washington, D. C.
1885 HENRY RANDALL WAITE, Ph.D., 38 Park Row, New York.
1894 CORNELIUS N. HOAGLAND, M.D., 410 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
1892 Hon. W. S. STRYKER, Trenton, N. J.
1894 Hon. J. L. M. CURRY, LL.D., 1736 M. Street, Washington, D. C.

Term Expires 1896.

1887 Justice WM. STRONG, LL.D., U. S. Supreme Court (Retired), Washington, D. C.
1889 Chief Justice MELVILLE W. FULLER, LL.D., U. S. Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.
1893 J. M. TONER, M.D., 1445 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C.
1894 Hon. OSWALD OTTENDORFER, LL.D., Publisher *Staats Zeitung*, New York City.
1887 Hon. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, LL.D., U. S. Senator from Connecticut, Hartford, Conn.
1887 Hon. JUSTIN S. MORRILL, LL.D., U. S. Senator from Vermont, Strafford, Vt.
1887 Hon. AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD, LL.D., Librarian Congress, Washington, D. C.
1890 JAMES STOKES, Esq., 47 Cedar Street, New York City.
1894 Judge WILLIAM H. ARNOUX, LL.D., 18 Wall Street, New York City.

The purposes of this Institution, briefly stated, are to promote everywhere, and through all practicable agencies, including home influences, educational institutions, the press and the platform, the integrity, intelligence, patriotism, and vigilance which are essential to the common weal under the rule of the people. The membership includes councilors in every state, whose high character, commanding influence, and subordination of selfish considerations to the public good, qualify them for the high service in which the Institute seeks to enlist them. Applications for membership may be addressed to the President.

Funds for the defrayal of expenses are derived from voluntary nominal dues paid by members, and from other voluntary contributions. ITS OFFICERS SERVE WITHOUT SALARIES, and it employs no paid agents.

***The American Magazine of Civics*, a non-partisan and unsectarian magazine, wholly devoted to the presentation of the best thought of the day upon the civic problems which are engaging the serious attention of intelligent and patriotic citizens, is the official organ of the Institute.**

This magazine, which contains in each issue about one hundred and twenty pages of reading matter contributed by the ablest writers in the field of civics, will be sent without further charge to all members of the Institute who annually contribute to its expense fund the sum of three dollars or more.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS,
Executive Offices, 38 Park Row, NEW YORK CITY.

UNITED COMMERCIAL LAWYERS.

Chicago. **Incorporated.**

President.....DANIEL K. TENNEY, CHICAGO
First Vice-President.....ALBERT H. GLEASON, NEW YORK CITY
Second Vice-President.....J. KEMP BARTLETT, JR., BALTIMORE
Secretary and Treasurer.....WM. H. DOWE, CHICAGO

STOCKHOLDERS WHO ARE DENOMINATED CONSTITUENT OFFICES.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.
Glenn, Slaton & Phillips.
ALBANY, NEW YORK.
Montignani, Mallory & Elmendorf.
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.
J. Kemp Bartlett, Jr.
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.
T. B. & L. M. Merchant.
BOSTON, MASS.
George F. Bean.
Collection Department National Shoe & Leather Exchange, Charles W. Lavers, Mgr., W. Fred'k Kimball, Attorney.
BUFFALO, N. Y.
Clinton & Clark.
George S. Hull.
Albert C. Spann.
CHARLESTON, S. C.
Mordecai & Gadsden.
CHICAGO, ILL.
Cratty Bros., Gray, McLaren, Jarvis & Cleveland.
Dowe, Wood, Farnsworth & Newman.
Flower, Smith & Musgrave.
Tenney, McConnell & Coffeen.
CINCINNATI, O.
Johnson & Levy.
Cobb & Howard.
CLEVELAND, O.
Everett, Dellenbaugh & Weed.
White, Johnson, McCaslin & Cannon.
COLUMBUS, O.
Arnold & Morton.
DALLAS, TEXAS.
Wirt Mann.
DAYTON, OHIO.
Gottschall, Brown & Crawford.
DENVER, COL.
Bicksler & McLean.
Rogers, Cuthbert & Ellis.
DES MOINES, IA.
Granger & Bennett.
DETROIT, MICH.
Bowen, Douglas & Whiting.
ELMIRA, N. Y.
Herendeen & Mandeville.
GALVESTON, TEX.
Wm. B. Lockhart.
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.
Dodge & Eastman.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
Morris, Newberger & Curtis.
KANSAS CITY, MO.
Downs, Morrin & Barnes.
LINCOLN, NEB.
Mockett & Polk.
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
W. E. Atkinson.
LOS ANGELES, CAL.
Julian P. Jones.
LOUISVILLE, KY.
William W. Watts.
MEMPHIS, TENN.
Myers & Banks.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.
Winkler, Flanders, Smith, Bottum & Vilas.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
Fletcher, Cairns & Lockwood.
MOBILE, ALA.
Fielding Vaughan.
NEWARK, N. J.
Francis W. Knowles.
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
William A. Wright.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.
C. O. Wilcox.
Jos. N. Wolfson.
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Baggott & Ryall.
F. A. Burnham,
Counselor at Law, President Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association.
Frank & Einstein.
Frank & Fried.
Gruber & Bonynge.
Hastings & Gleason.
Morgan, Whiton & Mitchell,
Counsel Columbia Commercial Association.
New York Furniture Board of Trade,
George Burnham, Jr., Counsel.
E. K. Sumerwell,
Counsel U. S. Mercantile Reporting Co.
Thomson & Allen,
Counsel United Merchants.
OMAHA, NEB.
Bartlett, Baldridge & De Bord.
McCabe, Wood, McGilton & Elmer.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
A. J. & L. J. Bamberger.
Samuel B. Huey.
Shriver, Bartlett & Company.
PITTSBURG, PA.
B. C. & H. L. Christy.
McCreedy & Moore.
PORTLAND, ORE.
Cox, Cotton, Teal & Minor.
PROVIDENCE, R. I.
Frank H. Jackson.
RICHMOND, VA.
Jo Lane Stern.
ROCHESTER, N. Y.
Edward F. Wellington.
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.
Jones & Shroeder.
SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
Keller & Johnson.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
Dorn & Dorn.
SAVANNAH, GA.
Garrard, Meldrim & Newman.
SEATTLE, WASH.
McClure & Bass.
SIOUX CITY, IA.
Shull & Farnsworth.
ST. JOSEPH, MO.
Johnson, Rusk & Stringfellow.
Stauber & Crandall.
ST. LOUIS, MO.
Wm. C. & Jas. C. Jones.
ST. PAUL, MINN.
Morphy, Ewing, Gilbert & Ewing.
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
Buck & Brown.
TACOMA, WASH.
Doolittle & Fogg.
TORONTO, ONTARIO.
Beatty, Blackstock, Nesbitt, Chadwick & Riddell.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Clarence A. Brandenburg.
Henry Wise Garnett.
WILMINGTON, DEL.
Willard Hall Porter.

Commercial Lawyers will readily appreciate the value of being the sole representative of this Association. Manufacturers, wholesalers, and jobbers handling their business direct should have the Law List. Write for terms.

WILLIAM H. DOWE, Secretary,
189 La Salle Street, CHICAGO.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

VOL. IX. JULY, 1896. No. 1.

IS THE FOREIGNER A MENACE TO THE NATION?

BY THE REV. W. G. PUDDEFOOT.

A STORY is told of Benjamin Franklin that when he was in France some philosophers had been discussing as to whether a dead fish would float. On Franklin's appearance the question was put to him. He at once ordered a pail of water and a dead fish, and solved the problem by a practical test. So would I wish to answer the above question. I am aware that scientific professors tell us that the offspring of European peasants will still cling to the father's ways, and generations must pass before the men from middle Europe can rise to our standard. But what are the facts? What part of the land has advanced, the North with 97 per cent of the immigrants or the South with 3 per cent? The writer believes that nothing would so help the South to-day as immigration.

Nearly all writers take extreme sides upon this ever-living question. Within the last few years the bibliography on the subject has grown rapidly. Articles in the papers, pamphlets, magazines, and books meet us continually, and among a large class of people there is a growing fear that we shall be swamped by foreign types that cannot be assimilated. This fear is an old one (as old as the nation) and is unworthy of the descendants of the Puritans, and was no credit to them.

The only race that does not assimilate with the Anglo-Saxon is the one that does not come. Less than 40,000 of the Spanish and Portuguese have reached these shores in fifty years. Had there been an increase from Spain in proportion as large as from

Russia, there might be some cause for alarm. For, if we look at Arizona, we find the highest per cent of crime in the United States; also a very large percentage of Spanish blood. We call them Spanish, although they are the descendants of men who came to this land seventy years before the landing of the Pilgrims.

Now, strangely enough, we find North Dakota with the smallest percentage of crime, with the largest percentage of foreign voters, ranking with Iowa, the New England of the West. However, it should be borne in mind that the great majority of the voters in North Dakota are Scandinavian, but when we turn to South Dakota, that stands next to the above states in comparative freedom from crime, we find whole counties settled with Russians.

If we divide the country into five sections—North Atlantic, South Atlantic, North Central, South Central, and Western—we find the smallest percentage of prisoners where there is the largest percentage of foreigners, and yet it is true that the foreigner in the nation does furnish more than his share of criminals.

The foreigner who has money enough to take him to the West and buy a farm makes a grand citizen. The foreigner who, like a spent wave, barely reaches the shore, needs help. We have much sympathy for the Cubans if they will stay in Cuba. Would we like them as immigrants? No; but there is no danger that they will come.

Who, then, are we afraid of? The Hungarians, the Poles, the Italians, and the Russians. Scattered among 70,000,000 of people are 62,425 Hungarians, 147,440 Poles, 182,580 Italians, 182,644 Russians; in all, 330,084.

Pennsylvania has the largest number of those classed as undesirable, and yet among the very worst of them there is scarcely one that cannot read in his own language. Already these men are feeling the influence of the new environment, and in many cases are coming up; but the dangerous side is not the coming in of more immigrants, but the utter neglect of our training the children in the schools. The children of these immigrants

being worse than the parents, what can we expect when we will not furnish the school room?

Senator Lodge's scheme, if put in force, would make a small change only. The migration of races is automatic. If trade is dull, it stops, and even more return than come. One thing is certain; the high-water mark is passed. In 1882 we had nearly 800,000. I don't say that a larger number may not come in any given year; but never as many in proportion to our population, and the number coming will be a decreasing number in proportion to our population.

There will be less and less difference in the years to come between Europe and the United States. It takes but a small change to-day to deflect the migrations of peoples, but one thing is marked; all immigration is toward English-speaking peoples, and England had almost as large a share of immigrants from Europe in 1894 as we had; I mean in proportion to her population.

Now, we must make up our mind to one thing; if we ship our corn into Italy so cheaply as to make farming unprofitable on the plains of Lombardy, we must have in return Italian immigrants, or, by keeping them out, have starving Italians who cannot buy our corn. We cannot have our cake and eat it.

There is only one thing to do. Help the people who come to us as only we can help. Build better schools and more of them; have large playgrounds for the slum districts. Honest assessments would do all that is needed.

The plea that the new law is for the betterment of the American mechanic is very funny. Where does he live? The large share of all the work is done by the foreigner. The American engineer sits upon the seat of his locomotive, and the foreigner works on the road. He is our hewer of wood and drawer of water, and does the hardest work.

The foreigner, who forms about one seventh of the population, furnished one fourth of the soldiers of the Union army. There is nothing to fear from European immigration if we do our duty. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and I doubt the moral right of any people to say to a needy brother: You

cannot come here; stay at home and we will send you a missionary, who shall teach you that God is love, and that He has given the earth to the children of men, only you must stay in the place God has placed you, for "He has appointed their bounds and habitations."

No, the danger to a nation is not from without, but from within. With wealth increasing at the rate of $7,000,000 a day, we ought to have everything that the highest civilization demands—roads, schools, model homes, water free as air, and not be living in filth that demands a contagious disease hospital.

To a large extent the politician is responsible for this condition of the public mind. Our people read much more than they think, and much of what they do read has little thought in it. If instead of the trash that so many read our timid friends would study Bryce's "American Commonwealth," the works of Fiske, McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," and Parkman's glorious works, and take a look at "the pit from which we have been dug and the rock from which we have been hewn," they would have a clearer conception of the destiny of the New World of which we form the most important part.

The catchwords used by the electioneering agents, "effete monarchies," "pauper labor," and the like, have given us a false view. There is no such thing as pauper labor. The person who labors is not a pauper. I stood in front of the magnificent bronzed gates that Germany sent to the World's Fair, in the courts of France and Austria, and from time to time I said to those who stood by, "Is it not wonderful that paupers should do such artistic and beautiful work?" My answer was a blank stare that was very amusing. "Crowded, suffocating, starving Europe" is another bogy. Europe is not crowded, and where it is most densely populated we find the most prosperous people. Where the fight with the sea is continuous, where the very land had to be snatched from the ocean, we find a commercial prosperity that vies with England.

"Europe could send us two millions a year and yet increase her population at a prodigious rate" is another argument often

used. Is it true? No. For first the ships are not built that could bring them over. In the next place the building of the extra ships would bring such activity to the shipyards that men would immigrate from this country to work. Then the bringing of two millions in one year to this land would be such a drain upon the European labor market that wages would go up there, and decrease here as quickly as water would find its level. In fact, the whole question of labor is automatic. The cost of crossing the ocean is less than crossing the continent, and we find the balance is so nicely adjusted that the least depression of trade here stops the flow there. The Scotch granite workers in Vermont go to Scotland to live during the winter, and live on American oatmeal, American flour, and American beef cheaper than they can buy it here, by more than the cost of the round trip.

In fact, the economic conditions of the past twenty-five years have so changed that all previous calculations have been upset. Chemistry has shown us how to manufacture madder and indigo, and this vast natural product has been produced artificially, and thousands who made a living in the fields cultivating these plants have been suddenly turned out of work. The low cost of freight from the heart of our continent to every port of Europe has unsettled the agricultural districts. Our corn is sent to Italy and sold there cheaper than it can be raised on the plains of Lombardy. Need we wonder that Italian peasants turn westward, cut off from work in the fields of Italy by the prairies five thousand miles away and lured by railway and mining companies to come here? When the produce of five acres of land can be shipped from Chicago to Liverpool cheaper than the English farmer can manure an acre of land, we should not be surprised that English farmers take to raising more mutton and the agricultural laborer turns to the land that has turned him out of his work. When we put a tariff on buttons so steep that the Austrians are forced to close their factories, should we be surprised when the Austrian starts for the button factories of America? Do we imagine that we can get rich by starving Europe? And if by the changes that have come about

partly by our superior machinery, partly by natural laws, we actually force the emigration of Europeans to this country, should we expect them to come in dress suits on an American liner?

Much complaint is made of the low type of Italian who comes to our shores, works a while, and then returns to live on his money. Has he not a right to do so? Did he not earn the money honestly; has he not left the product of his labor here? Does he take as much home with him as the average American tourist spends on one trip to Europe? We fail to realize and weigh the causes that have literally forced the peaceful invasion of our country by the European. I say European, for I do not call the English-speaking people foreigners. I should as soon call the Siamese twins cousins.

Before going further into the subject, let us take a look backward. Spain, the first great power in Europe, is firmly planted at the south. The second great power is in the fortresses of the north, Quebec and Montreal. Skirting the Great Lakes, they descend the Mississippi, meeting the Spaniards ascending it and forming a cresent as Mahomet did in Asia, Africa, and Europe. On the rocky Atlantic coast a little band of English; the Indians everywhere. Surely if ever there was danger of European dominance it then seemed sure. Spanish or French ought to be the language of our country, but what do we behold to-day? Seventy millions of people, ninety per cent of whom speak English, and the other ten per cent trying to as fast as possible. We have come through all kinds of trouble, the greatest of which was among our own people before the foreigner came in large quantities. Indeed, Dr. Fiske informs us that New England was for many years more English than any country in England, and it was during this period that the critical time was most acute in our history.

We are constantly assured that while the foreigner is a good subject on the farms he is a menace to our cities, and in all conscience municipal reform is the most needed of our day, and in a most contradictory way we blame the foreigner for the conditions, for we turn to Europe and point to the municipal

reforms there, forgetting that they are all foreign and that the reforms of the Old World are but recent. Do I say there is no danger? No; there is much danger, but the danger lies in our neglect to our duty on the one hand, and on the other by magnifying the evils. Bad as our cities are to-day, they are much better in every way than eighty years ago, before the great stream of Europeans set in. In New York pauperism was growing faster than the population. Thousands were in the debtors' prisons, hundreds of prisoners were discharged before their time was up to let in fresh batches of criminals. Indeed, it is not a refreshing study to see things as they were less than a hundred years ago except for the hope we get by the contrast of to-day.

Classics such as Mrs. Stowe's "Oldtown Folks," while delightful reading, are apt to lead us astray in estimating the advance of to-day. We must never forget that we are the first modern nation of continental proportions with latitudes of prodigious extent; that the nation has become what it is by European occupancy; that the invasion has been relatively a peaceful one; that we have the highest type of civilization in spots and the lowest of savagery in spots, while between are all races and kindreds and tongues, and in spite of all are a more united people than at any time in our history. We have cities in Wisconsin of ten thousand inhabitants, 90 per cent of whom are German, 8 per cent Irish, and 2 per cent American, and yet are essentially American. In spite of the fact that you may see on Sunday a match between butchers as to who shall dress an ox the better and quicker, excursion trains running from Milwaukee, lager running all the time, and that at the Sunday-school picnic the lager is sold too, one generation will change it, as it has done before over and over again.

The gloomiest picture of what this country would become was written fifty years ago in Chambers's *Edinboro Journal.* The writer depicted the poor people going to the great West on the strength of a lying prospectus. "In most of the states the debates are printed in German and English—for the third and fourth generation they talk German—and in the course of

time, if this emigration continue, we shall see a second Germany will have arisen beyond the Atlantic, and monopolized along the head waters of the Delaware and Ohio the possession of the children of Penn."

The above was written in 1846, when immigration had scarcely begun, but what of the prophecy? Where the real danger lies is in the utter neglect of our great cities to provide adequate school room for the countless thousands of children who roam our city streets. Thus to-day do we talk of the dangers and stand idly by instead of doing our part. In Boston part of the children go in the morning, part in the afternoon. In Brooklyn over seven hundred crowded into a building built for three hundred. In New York and Chicago thousands for whom there is no room. In the great mining regions town after town of six or seven hundred and no school.

Last week I stood by a mine where 1,500 tons of coal were lifted every day. One man a week was killed on the average throughout the year. Every sixth man was doomed; every 9,000 tons of coal cost a human life. The families lived in two-roomed houses. In one village the surplus of wages, after deducting the amount paid at the store, was paid in beer. In this village there was neither day school nor Sunday-school. Is there danger? There ought to be; with such a condition of things we ought to raise idiots, murderers, lynchers, strikers, rioters, anarchists, and rascals in general—and we do, until now we have nearly thirty murders a day. We use Pinkerton detectives and jails instead of schools and churches. We put up contagious disease hospitals instead of cleaning our streets and abolishing the slums. We sterilize our milk instead of killing the diseased cows. We are shocked at the women who could condemn the dying gladiator, and we rest while 75 per cent of the children of New York City die before they are two years old and every tenth person dies a pauper, and we propose to stop immigration instead of doing our duty and the grandest work God ever gave a nation to perform.

A few weeks ago I received two copies of the annual report of the superintendent of immigration—doubtless to check the dan-

gerous optimistic views which I had expressed in an article to the *Boston Herald* of March 23, 1896, the answer to which is as follows:

We find that out of 285,631 immigrants which entered our ports in 1894, 2806 were debarred and returned. Among those debarred were 4 idiots, 5 insane, 802 paupers, 15 diseased, 8 convicts, 1,553 contract laborers, and 2 prostitutes, while 417 returned within a year of their arrival.

We see that far the larger number who were sent back had been guilty of the heinous crime of contracting to work for their living when they reached this country. After taking out the paupers, which numbered 793, we have, all told, out of 285,631, only 31 persons who were sent back from other causes, and 14 of these were diseased, or, counting the 5 insane and the two idiots, 22 persons were diseased, leaving 9 only that were vicious, 7 being convicts, and 2 prostitutes.

We have here a most remarkable showing, even on the dark side, but look for a moment on the other side; first, a great falling off in 1893, a decrease as compared with 1892 of 141,044; and in 1894, a decrease as compared with 1893 of 152,763, a total decrease in these two years of 293,807, being a greater number than came to these shores in 1894.

Among the arrivals in 1894 we find no less than 196,322 were between the ages of 15 and 40; that 55,679 were under 15 years of age, and only 30,890 that were over 40 years old; 39,691 of these people had over $30 each when they landed, and 128,137 had less than $30. Calculating the 39,691 with $30 each, we have $1,190,730 in cash from this number; allowing only $10 each to the number coming with less than $30, we have $1,281,370, or a total of $2,472,100 in cash. Putting a lower estimate on the worth of an able-bodied man than either Dr. Engel of Germany or Dr. Farr of England—Dr. Engel putting the cost of producing such a man at $1,000; Dr. Farr's figures are $875—let us say $500, and we have the value of 196,322 immigrants, between the ages of 15 and 40, which would be $98,161,000; add this to the amount of cash brought with them, and we have $100,633,100 as the gain of this country.

Germany has become so uneasy at this enormous drain of able-bodied men that we find her offering tools and land to intending immigrants, in order to keep them at home; and no wonder, for while 60 per cent of the Germans who come to us are between the ages of 15 and 40, Germany has only 30 per cent of that age.

Again, our report shows a decrease of 64.2 per cent of Huns, and 74.3 per cent of Russians and Poles, Sweden showing the smallest decrease, and the Italians coming next, but, all together, showing a decrease of over 50 per cent, so that on the whole this report is cheering to despondent and fearing souls.

Since writing the above, the letter of Mr. Prescott F. Hall was published in *The Herald* of March 24, showing the crime and illiteracy of the foreign population in Massachusetts. This is anything but disheartening, for notwithstanding the number of foreigners in our jails, we find our own people have not been dragged down by them. We don't expect the men from Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Italy to be "Pilgrim fathers," but we do hope, and have good reasons for such hope, that American life will lift them up. It is very doubtful whether these people would be educated if they stayed in their own countries. Is it not much better, then, for them to come to a land where they can develop the best that is in them?

Mr. Prescott F. Hall says our amiable philanthropists must face the facts. I do. I have seen tens of thousands of poor, down-trodden men and women come into our ports, ragged, rough, and uncouth, and in one generation I have seen them spring into the front ranks, often carrying off the highest honors in our schools, becoming governors, senators, and useful citizens.

I pity the narrow view of any man who cannot look across this broad continent and thank God for what it has done for the race of which he is one. The forests that have been cleared, the mines opened and worked, and the great wildernesses of prairies that have been made glad because of them.

If America has not the requisite courage and faith to assimilate the few who come, what is the use of sending missionaries to these countries? No nation liveth to itself alone any more than

a man, and we must learn the stern fact that no one part of the race can suffer without the other.

The real question, after all, is whether the foreigner who comes to our shores is better off in every way than if he stayed at home? Can any nation lift Europe as we are doing it? No. Well did Emerson say, "America is another word for opportunity." If a man thinks we would be better off without the foreigner, let me state a few pregnant facts: Connecticut has eight counties. Empty five of them into the other three, and there are enough foreigners in that state to repeople the five counties, and New Haven to boot. Now, what are they doing there? Making her factories hum, cooking Connecticut's meals, cleaning her boots, making her rich. And what is true of Connecticut is true of New England; while the Lowell mills speak volumes for the improved moral tone of the female help.

Finally, we cannot do without each other. Our prosperity is bound up together, and he who foolishly wishes his country success at the cost of any other is untrue to himself, to the race, and to the God who is father of us all.

W. G. PUDDEFOOT.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, VENEZUELA, CUBA, AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON.

BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, SECRETARY AMERICAN PEACE BUREAU.

NOT only does the Constitution of the United States pledge us to neutrality with reference to other nations, but the general trend of our legislative acts has usually looked to arbitration or mediation as the best method of settling difficulties.

Separated by two great water-ways, the one to the east and the other to the west, from those great nations from whom friction would be likely to come; possessing an area of territory so boundless that conquest is no longer desirable; with a versatility of products, soil, and climate that renders commerce with the nations of the world a necessity for her advancement; and with a country so well developed as to offer inducements for distinction in the sciences, arts, mechanics, and professions even higher than generalship or seamanship; the United States in the past has given but little encouragement to belligerency, and especially so since the severe lessons of the late Civil War, under the sacrifices of which we are still smarting.

Concurrent with this event and since, the Peace Societies, notably of Philadelphia and Boston, with their branch societies, and some spasmodic but not less earnest efforts perhaps made by the Arbitration League of Washington, D. C., in the introduction of bills and resolutions in Congress, and the Peace Societies of London and Liverpool, the League of Peace of Geneva, and the Young Friends of Peace of France, with many other societies and persons, have been industriously and in-

sidiously spreading abroad peace principles, by their speeches, and by their several organs, *The Peacemaker*, *The Advocate of Peace*, *Concord*, *The Herald of Peace*, *The Arbitrator*, *Les États-Unis D'Europe*, *Il Secolo*, *La Paix par le Droit*, *The Christian Neighbor*, and other peace organs, which resulted in the call for the Peace Congress in Paris in June, 1889, under the auspices of the Exposition management; the Sherman resolution, which was supposed to have passed Congress about that time, authorizing the president of the United States to make overtures with any nation with whom the United States was in treaty relations, for a permanent treaty of arbitration; the Pan-American Congress with James G. Blaine at its head, which closed its sessions in April, 1890; the Second Peace Congress in London in July of the same year; the Congress in Rome in 1891, of Berne in 1892, and of Chicago in 1893, under the patronage of the World's Fair, with Charles C. Bonney at its head, the Sixth Congress of Peace at Antwerp in 1894, and each congress succeeded by a Parliamentary Conference except the one in Chicago, and the Parliamentary Conference held in Brussels in 1895, together with the successive sessions of the Society for the Codification of the Law of Nations, held successively in New York, London, Rome, and Brussels, in the interest of peace by arbitration, have all accentuated the idea of doing away with war for the settlement of difficulties between nations.

Out of these efforts grew, in 1889, the International Peace Bureau, with headquarters at Berne, Switzerland, whose duty it is to keep the various Peace Societies of the world informed of the status of the civilized nations as to peace and war; to disseminate peace literature, carry out the resolutions of the international congresses, and make arrangements for future ones, now firmly established, with a branch bureau at Washington, D. C., through which it is constantly informed of all important legislation at the national capital, and whose united efforts the French Chamber of Deputies admitted, called out that unanimous vote of July 8, 1895, on the resolution proposed, "That the French government open negotiations as soon as possible with the United States for the conclusion of a per-

manent treaty of arbitration," not yet acted upon, and the effort of the Hon. William Randal Cremer, then a member of the British House of Commons, who came to Washington in the early part of January, 1895, with a petition signed by 354 members of that body, asking the United States to join with Great Britain in a permanent treaty of arbitration, and which resulted in the resolution proposed by the Hon. William J. Combs of New York to Congress, January 19, 1895, asking for the consummation of this proposition, which was backed by a petition sent out by the American Branch Bureau, and later introduced into Congress, containing about 7,000 names, and coming from over the entire country, had already scattered the peace idea far and wide.

The increasing cost of armaments year by year, not only in the Old World but in our own country, which is now becoming such a burden on the people of both continents as to call forth the protests of all thoughtful and earnest people; and which drew forth that ingenious paper presented by Madame Greiss Traut of Paris, more than three years ago, and now made the order of the day of the Seventh Congress, of "How to Convert Destructive Armies of War into Productive Armies of Peace"; together with that popular work of the Baroness von Suttner, a member of the International Bureau, "Die Waffen Neider," has still further converted the mind of the general public to the thought that arbitration is a much more economic and efficient method of settling difficulties than war. Not only this, but there had emanated from the bureau by the suggestion of Fredric Bajer, and it had been discussed by the Congress, how to correct our school-books so that instead of filling them with articles that discussed only battles and the heroes of wars, they should rather extol the peaceful pursuits of life, and how to preserve peace; how to educate young men and women in colleges and universities in the principles of arbitration, and to put the bureau in communication with college presidents and professors on this question; how to induce labor unions and societies of workingmen to come into Peace Societies; how, in short, to get up a general propaganda on the peace question.

VENEZUELA.

This work had so far progressed that in 1894 there was a general and simultaneous discussion by the students of the colleges of the country on the expediency of settling international difficulties by arbitration. The Bering Sea trouble had been arbitrated, and this seemed to commit Great Britain and the United States to the principles of arbitration. But the Venezuela question had been a long time seething, and Great Britain had refused to be placated, even under the proffer of the good offices of the United States to assist her, when suddenly, on December 19, 1895, President Cleveland surprised Congress with a pronunciamento in the shape of a message, which in its directness shocked and aroused the civilized world, with a muttered whisper of war that seemed ominous to all concerned, by declaring that the Monroe Doctrine should be maintained on the western hemisphere, as necessary to our peace and prosperity as a nation; that the dispute about the boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela had reached such a stage as to make it now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine with sufficient certainty what is the true divisional line; and he further suggested that Congress should make an appropriation for a commission to determine what is this line, subtly intimating that the United States would see to it that the rights of Venezuela were preserved.

THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION.

Congress made the necessary appropriation, and the president promptly appointed the commission of able jurists to investigate and report on the Venezuelan boundary, and they are sitting to-day safely in their gorgeous aerie in Washington looking at the maps that have been, and are to be, safely out of the way of British guns, while a messenger has been dispatched to Holland to look up some old Dutch map, and the great excitement which followed it on both continents has nearly died out, and will undoubtedly be amicably settled.

CUBA.

In February, 1896, another flurry of war arose. Cuba is so

near to our southern border that the afflictions and misrule of her citizens, while it menaced in many ways our commerce and the lives of our citizens, constantly appealed to and drew upon the sympathies of members of Congress, so that notwithstanding our friendly relations with Spain, the Senate was moved on the 29th of February, 1896, to pass with an almost unanimous vote the resolution granting belligerent rights to Cuba, and on the 18th of March following a similar resolution passed the House. It reads as follows:

THE RESOLUTION.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each, all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territories of the United States.

Resolved further, That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the president to the Spanish government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

THE RESOLUTION OF FELIX MOSCHELES.

Before all this had happened, or on January 16, 1896, Felix Moscheles, of London, a member of the Peace Society, wrote to the bureau at Berne to use its channels of information and of instruction to ask every Peace Society in Europe and America to call its membership together on the 22d of February, 1896, and request of them to pass simultaneously the following resolution, in order to create a sentiment of arbitration strong enough to move the world. This resolution was in the following form, viz:

This Peace Society declares that it gives its adhesion without reserve to the principles of international arbitration. It believes that the moment is opportune to affirm it anew, and to invite the citizens of all civilized countries to give to it their moral support, and to pronounce itself strongly in favor of this principle. It makes this appeal because it is convinced that this is public opinion, the greatest of all great powers, which alone can determine legislative assemblies, and through them the governments, to inaugurate the new era of international peace, based upon respect for law.

The bureau accepted this proposition of Moscheles, and their faithful secretary, Hon. Elie Ducommun, sent a copy of this resolution to be acted upon by all of the Peace Societies in Europe and America, and these societies took up the resolution and almost unanimously passed it.

Miss Frances E. Willard, beloved in two continents and wedded to both, together with the officers of the National W. C. T. U., passed a resolution, asking the president and the Congress of the United States to take steps looking to the establishment of a permanent commission to arbitrate any difficulty that might arise between the United States and Great Britain, and had copies of this resolution sent to all of the local and state unions of the country. Fourteen of these state associations in turn memorialized Congress, and many local unions, sending their petitions to both Houses through their respective senators and members.

THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

Already aroused by the influence exerted more than two years ago by Fredric Bajer, Hodgson Pratt, and the Young Friends of Peace, the colleges and universities were at once enthused, and faculty and students met and passed resolutions in favor of an International Arbitration Court, showing that the university idea, instead of being choate, had crystallized into the concrete thought that the permanent high court of nations, always in session, and ready when opportunity offered to hear and determine any difficulty that might arise between nations, resulted in memorials and petitions to Congress from the Universities of Washington, California, West Virginia, and Illinois; of Pierre University of South Dakota, University of Takoma, Lake Forest, Ill.; Shaw University, and the faculty and students of Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.; Bowdoin College, Maine; Dartmouth College, New Hampshire; State College, Maine; Tabor College, Iowa; Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa; Tarkio College, Tarkio, Mo.; Doane College, Crete, Neb.; Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; Randolph and Macon College, Ashland, Va.; Frankland College, Frankland, Ind.; Mount Union College, Alliance, O.; Franklin College, New Athens, O.; Hastings

College, Hastings, Neb.; the Inter-collegiate Oratorical Association, Granville, Ohio, and several other institutions of learning.

The yearly meetings of Friends in the several states, which have been wont to pass peace resolutions, were not remiss now when the occasion seemed to demand an expression of their sentiments, and the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Richmond, Ind., which has always been alive to the peace question, and whose inspiring genius in the past has been Daniel Hill, with Daniel Lawrence, clerk; the religious Society of Friends of Greensborough, North Carolina; the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, the Society of Friends of Chicago, and the Illinois Yearly Meeting of Friends of Holder, Illinois, all sent memorials and petitions to Congress.

The Arbitration Council of Philadelphia, George May Powell, president, sent in a petition for an International Court of Arbitration to the Senate, while the New York Board of Trade, for financial reasons, petitioned Congress for a peaceable settlement of international difficulties.

The Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland, Ohio, favored a resolution for an International Arbitration Court, and a speedy settlement of the northwestern boundary between the United States and Great Britain. The Merchant Tailors' National Exchange sent a petition to Congress recommending international peace as an economic measure, and petitions were sent to Congress from mass meetings of people called in Kossuth County, Iowa, Chattanooga, Tenn., and many other points.

The Woman's Peace League, and the National Society for the Promotion of Arbitration, sent memorials for an International Arbitration Court, which were introduced respectively in House and Senate.

The American Humane Education Society sent in a petition asking for arbitration on humane grounds, and the Congregationalist Society of Columbus, Ohio, and the Universalist Society of Woonsocket, R. I., asked for arbitration as the only civilized mode of settling difficulties.

Pending these memorials and petitions, the Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Ohio, introduced into the House of Repre-

sentatives a resolution calling on the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House to inquire and report the practicability of the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration for the purpose of settling all disputes except those involving the autonomy of a nation, and April 23, 1896, the Hon. Albert J. Pearson of Ohio introduced into the House a joint resolution authorizing the president to make overtures to the nations of the world for the establishment of an International Arbitration Court, by inviting them to send delegates to an international conference for this purpose, and that the president be requested to communicate to Congress the correspondence interchanged with the several nations on this behalf.

THE ARBITRATION COURT.

This was the first practical step toward securing the object aimed at, namely the International Arbitration Court, and one which may yet in the not distant future bear fruit, although the president and cabinet can alone take the initiative in such a measure, while Congress must authorize them to make the overtures to other nations.

THE PUBLIC CALL.

But this was not all that transpired. In January, 1896, prominent citizens of the city of Chicago, alarmed at the threatening aspect of the social relations between Great Britain and the United States, issued a call that the people in all the cities and towns of this country should, on the 22d of February, 1896, call special meetings, or should in the meetings of their societies, clubs, churches, social, religious, or commercial organizations, nearest to that time pass resolutions with reference to a peaceful settlement of the difficulty between Great Britain and the United States. They urged newspapers, religious and secular, to give it their sanction, to request the people in all parts of the Union to consecrate the birthday of Washington to the cause of arbitration, and appointed Dr. William C. Gray of Chicago and William E. Dodge of New York to receive the opinions and resolutions, which were to be sent in duplicate to the president of the United States and the queen of Great Britain. This call

was at once followed by a citizens' meeting in New York City, and that meeting passed a resolution asking Congress for a permanent provision for some wise method of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, believing that such a step would ultimately lead to international arbitration throughout the world. A committee from this meeting at once put themselves in communication with Herbert Welch of Philadelphia, and Alfred H. Love, president of the U. P. U., through whose efforts a mass meeting in Old Independence Hall had previously been determined upon, for February 22, 1896, and on that occasion their rooms were filled with the best citizens, men and women, of the City of Brotherly Love, all enthused over the question of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. The action of this meeting has been reported and printed in full by Henry S. Clubb of Philadelphia. But the spirit of war was abroad. Cuba is so near to our southern border that the afflictions and misrule of that unhappy island, while they menaced in many ways our commerce and the lives of our citizens, constantly appealed to, and drew upon, the sympathies of members of Congress, so that notwithstanding our friendly relations with Spain, the Senate was moved on the 29th of February, 1896, to pass with an almost unanimous vote the granting of belligerent rights to Cuba, and on the 18th of March following a similar resolution passed the House.

THE CONFERENCE.

This meeting appointed a committee to confer with other committees from New York, Chicago, and Washington, for the purpose of calling a national conference in the latter city on the 22d and 23d of April, 1896. Instead, however, of calling upon Peace Societies, churches, colleges, and various organizations to send delegates, this committee issued its invitations to such distinguished men as it supposed would lend dignity, erudition, and a color of statesmanship to this very important gathering.

Not only this, but in pursuance to the previous call, state societies of men and women, the Daughters of the Revolution and of the American Revolution, the posts of the Grand Army,

and the Y. M. C. A. of Yale University, the faculty and students of other universities and colleges, including Dartmouth, fifteen cities and towns, the Congregationalist Church, fourteen large clubs, including the Ladies' Literary of Iowa and many other literary societies, the evangelical churches of Winterset, Iowa; mass meetings in Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Texas, Tennessee, Florida, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Arizona, South Carolina, and the general Congregational Association of Florida; citizens of Wisconsin, Colorada, South Dakota, Arkansas, New York, Ohio, People's Institute, Chicago; the Peace Societies of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia; the Patrons of Husbandry, and eleven different state associations of the W. C. T. U.; the Epworth League and the Christian Endeavor Societies; the Presbyterian Ministers' Association, twenty Presbyterian churches, thirteen Methodist churches, thirteen Baptist, and twenty Congregational churches, the Cumberland Presbyterian and evangelical churches; the Society of Friends of Chicago, Illinois yearly meeting and Philadelphia monthly meeting of Friends; Delaware Peace Society and Philanthropic Committee of Friends, Wilmington, Delaware, Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Unity Club of Lansing, Mich., and societies and churches too numerous to mention sent letters of sympathy with the object of the call, or resolutions for a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, all of which had been printed and sent to the president and Queen Victoria.

A PEACE UPRISING.

There was a great peace uprising all over the country, when this general Arbitration Conference was called in Washington, and expectation was on tiptoe to see what it would bring forth. President Cleveland was notably absent from the gathering, and if he had been invited, sent no letter of regret. He did not even receive the Congress, as the president is wont to do with all noted gatherings which meet in Washington, but went fishing instead. Was the conference a reproof to the memorable message of December 17, 1895?

The members of the cabinet were not there, although they had been personally invited by the committee. No members of Congress were noticeable among the large gathering that assembled in Metzerott Hall in the afternoon and evening of April 22d, except the Hon. William F. Aldrich, of the American Peace Bureau, and if any were present they gave no sound. Did they think that the conference was interfering with their prerogatives as a treaty-making power? If they did, the eminent gentlemen there assembled felt their importance quite as much. They believed that they were distinguished men—that their eloquence and appearance then and there would move the world. They had caused to be printed in advance a pamphlet of ninety-one pages for free distribution, containing a cursory history of arbitration, and some of the plans evolved for an arbitration court, including that of the plan of arbitration prepared by the Pan-American Congress in April, 1890; the plan proposed by the committee appointed to report at the World's Fair in 1893, submitted by William Allen Butler, Dorman B. Eaton, and Cephas Brainerd; and the resolution adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Brussels in 1895.

THE DELEGATES.

The delegates to the conference began to arrive early, and among them were men and women from the various Peace Societies of the country, and many ministers of the Gospel from various churches, and although the papers and the large bulletin board outside the hall had announced that the general public were invited, they were promptly told by the dispenser of tickets that no persons except those who had special letters of invitation from the committee would be given reserved seats, or be allowed to vote, or participate in the discussions. This was quite a damper upon delegates who had made many sacrifices, and some of whom had come many hundred miles for the purpose of taking part in the conference. This exclusiveness seemed to be aimed especially at the women delegates, as it appeared, notwithstanding the breadth of the call and the fact that names of many women delegates had been sent in to

the chairman, that no woman had been invited; it now seemed that like the barristers of the English bar, and the Queen's Counsel, they had to be "called" before they could be numbered with the elect, and though some of them had dined at the Inns of Court, they could not get a ticket. The managers of the conference had ignored the fact that this gathering was the result of an uprising of the people, of whom the women had formed a large component part, and much of the inspiration, and not great statesmanship that had brought the question of arbitration so prominently to the front. The learned committee had so arranged matters that they represented nobody but themselves. Still the conference, like the occasion that called it forth, notwithstanding its drawbacks, was grand, and may, we trust, pave the way to a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, and eventually with the civilized world.

THE CONFERENCE.

Promptly at three o'clock the conference was called to order at Metzerott Hall by the Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, of Washington, and of the committee, who introduced the Hon. John W. Foster, at one time secretary of state, and who was selected by the Chinese government to assist them in adjudicating their recent troubles with Japan, and to adjust the amount of indemnity. The hall was well filled with the specially invited friends, so-called delegates, and the general public, when Mr. Foster, as temporary chairman, addressed the assemblage. After welcoming the conference to Washington, Mr. Foster said that invitations to the conference had been accepted from forty-six states and territories, representing four hundred delegates, most of whom were present; and they represented the largest civilized nation on the face of the globe. That this nation is strong enough under any circumstances, not absurdly wicked and unjust, to maintain itself without resort to war. That at this time there are more than 100,000,000 of men able to assist in the progress of the world, who are kept constantly under arms. It has become necessary that the force of public opinion

should become as persistent and as constant as the army, until the voice of the angel of peace shall echo over the world.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie sent a letter of regret and a check for $1,000 to cover the expenses of the conference.

There was a *per forma* election of permanent chairman, which evidently had been cut and dried before, and the Hon. ex-Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont was named, and at once conducted to the chair. Mr. Edmunds is an able jurist, and while in the Senate was usually at the head of the Judiciary Committee. He made himself somewhat noted several years ago by the bitterness of his attack on the Mormon religion, which culminated in what is commonly known as the Edmunds's Law, now in force in the District of Columbia. Mr. Edmunds proved himself a very efficient chairman and an impartial presiding officer. His opening remarks were brief and pointed, and in them he stated that "the calling of this conference could not be construed in the light of a rebuke to the president, or as instructing Congress as to its duties." He expressed the opinion that the day was not far distant when the nations of the world would disband aggressive armies, and like the United States would keep only small ones for police duty.

Later on in the discussion, and while the resolutions were pending, Mr. Edmunds left the chair and offered an amendment for the enlargement of the scope of the conference, which had been called solely for the purpose of promoting a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, so that it might include other nations.

His remarks were followed by a very scholarly address by the Rev. L. T. Chamberlin, D. D., of New York City, on the purposes of the conference, and what had called them together, or rather its history.

"THE DESIRABLENESS OF ARBITRATION"

formed the topic of three very able papers presented in the evening, which were given by James B. Angell, LL. D., president of the University of Michigan; Mr. Edward Atkinson of Massachusetts, a noted economist, and the Hon. Carl Schurz of

New York, formerly secretary of the interior. The latter was particularly happy in his address, and opened with "History teaches the indisputable lesson that arbitration is not only the most humane and economical method of settling international difficulties, but also the most, if not the only, certain method to furnish enduring results."

THE SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

The interest in the great and distinguished Arbitration Conference did not wane, but rather increased, and the president, his cabinet, and Congress were still notably absent. The morning session was devoted to papers or addresses on "The Advantages of a Permanent System of Arbitration"; the first by Prof. John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, New York, who was followed by President Merrill E. Gates of Amherst College, Massachusetts, John J. Valentine of California, and the Rev. J. W. Bachman of Tennessee. The papers were eloquent and learned, but most of the members of the conference either ignored, or had never heard of the peace propaganda that has been going on in this country and in Europe, and evidently thought the subject quite a new one. It did not seem to occur to any one of the speakers that women could have any personal interest in the question, or had any power or influence over the conditions of peace or war, although the public call apparently included them. Intense interest, however, by everybody was centered in the report of the Committee on Resolutions given in the afternoon by J. B. Angell, chairman of the committee, and president of the University of Michigan; previous to which, however, the conference listened to a speech by General O. O. Howard, retired, in favor of arbitration, and the appointment of a permanent committee of twenty-seven members, of which Charles C. Harrison, of Pennsylvania, was made chairman, to continue the work of the conference hereafter. The idea of the committee was to have as nearly as possible one member from each state and territory represented.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

Preamble: This National Conference of American citizens, assem-

bled at Washington, April 22, 1896, to promote international arbitration, profoundly convinced that experience has shown that war, as a method of determining disputes between nations, is oppressive in its operation, uncertain and unequal in its results, and productive of immense evils, and that the spirit and humanity of the age, as well as the precepts of religion, require the adoption of every practicable means for the establishment of reason and justice between nations; and, considering that the people of the United States, and the people of Great Britain, bound together by ties of a common language and literature, of like political and legal institutions, and of many mutual interests, and animated by a spirit of devotion to law and justice, have on many occasions, by recourse to friendly arbitration, manifested their just desire to substitute reason for force in the settlement of their differences, and to establish a reign of peace among nations; that the common sense and enlightened public opinion of both nations is utterly averse to any further war between them; and that the same good sense, reënforced by common principles of humanity, religion, and justice, requires the adoption of a permanent method for the peaceful adjustment of international controversies, which method shall not only provide for the uniform application of principles of law and justice in the settlement of their own differences, but shall also by its example and its results promote the peace and progress of all peoples, does hereby adopt the following resolutions:

FIRST, That in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity, and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration; and the earliest possible extension of the system so as to embrace the whole civilized world.

SECOND, That it is earnestly recommended to our government, so soon as it is assured of a corresponding disposition on the part of the British government, to negotiate a treaty providing for the widest practicable application of the method of arbitration to international controversies.

THIRD, That a committee of this conference be appointed to prepare and present to the president of the United States a memorial, respectfully urging the taking of such steps on the part of the United States as will best conduce to the end in view.

A very animated discussion followed this report which was opened by Charles Dudley Warner, on its adoption, who said he supported it most heartily, as it meant a step forward in civilization. J. L. M. Curry of Washington approved of the report, but said he could not condense his remarks into a five minutes' speech. One of the youngest members of the conference, Oscar R. Hundley of Alabama, supported the resolutions in a very eloquent but brief speech. Hon. Henry Hitchcock of St. Louis

said the resolutions received his warmest support. Mr. Skinner of New York asked to amend so as to have the word "education" follow "religion." Mr. Powell of New York moved to accept and adopt the report as it came from the committee.

Alfred H. Love of Philadelphia suggested that the word "deadly" be placed before the word "force" in the preamble. Mr. Anderson of Pennsylvania endorsed the report, declared it was a masterpiece, and hoped that it would stand. Mr. Riddle of Texas moved to strike out of the preamble "of like political and legal institutions." The chair ruled that the motions with reference to the preamble were out of order until the resolutions were disposed of. He then introduced the Rev. Dr. Hoge of Richmond, Va., who addressed the conference on "The Necessity of Awakening Public Sentiment on the Subject of Arbitration," and closed by urging the adoption of the report. Dr. Gray of Chicago followed him, calling attention to the fact that wherever the English language is spoken pleasure is expressed that the United States has this matter under consideration.

Mr. Follet of Ohio moved to enlarge the resolutions so as to include more countries than Great Britain. Judge Daily of New York thought that a very large advance was being made by the attempt to establish arbitration between the two great nations named, and that there was danger of spoiling all by making too large a beginning. Mr. Parker of New York thought that we should change the phraseology so as to let other nations know that we wanted to have arbitrations arranged with them.

The most hopeful thing, said Dr. Smith of Baltimore, is that we are confining ourselves to two nations. President Edmunds called Dr. Curry to the chair, and explained to the conference that he wished to suggest the following amendment, "as far as possible with other civilized nations" after the words "Great Britain." Mr. B. F. Trueblood of Boston spoke against the amendment, saying that he thought it would weaken the resolution. Ex-Governor John W. Hoyt of Wyoming said he believed in the amendment, and seconded it. Mr. Moxon of Boston sympathized with the amendment, and desired to have it put in the preamble, and at this point Dr. Dreher of Salem, Va.,

offered an additional clause as follows, "and that this conference hopes that such a system will be adopted as may be extended to embrace all civilized nations." Mr. Leighton of Missouri then stated that "in the past the true cause of war has never been placed in the front, and that a court of arbitration would place on record the true grievance of a nation," and closed by urging the adoption of the report as submitted; whereupon Mr. Edmunds withdrew his amendment. The Hon. Carl Schurz then arose and said "every one wishes to see the whole world embraced in an arbitration system, but a start must be made, and we make it with an English-speaking nation," and closed by urging the adoption of the resolutions and amendment.

Whereupon, on motion, the first resolution as amended was adopted without further debate.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The second and third resolutions were then called up, and unanimously adopted without discussion; and, in conformity with the latter, the following committee was appointed to prepare and present to the president of the United States a memorial, urging the executive to take such steps as would best conduce to the end in view, viz.: Hon. George F. Edmunds, James B. Angell, Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, and Hon. Henry Hitchcock.

The motion to amend the preamble was then voted down, and at 5 o'clock the conference adjourned to attend a reception (which was to gentlemen only) at the house of the Hon. John W. Foster.

THE MASS MEETING AT ALLEN'S GRAND OPERA HOUSE,

Friday evening, April 24, was a great success. The house, which holds from five to six thousand persons, was well filled by the delegates and a representative Washington audience, and for the first time the Hon. John Sherman was conspicuous in a front seat in the audience. The restrictions and the reserve seats did not deter in the least the wives and sisters of delegates from crowding into them, as well as noted Washington women; and

the galleries were well filled, so eager was everybody to listen to the speeches of the eminent gentlemen who had been announced for the evening; the first of whom was the Hon. John Randolph Tucker of Virginia, who declared that "the mode of selecting arbitrators is not a difficult one, and should be as fair between nations as between individuals." Mr. Tucker was followed by

PRESIDENT ELIOT OF HARVARD COLLEGE,

who declared in a forcible speech that Harvard had thus far survived all wars, and had no reason to fear any conflict with a foreign nation—that Harvard had had her fill of experience of what war is, and that heroic virtue may be plucked from the carnage of war. Said that the Mexican War was an unjust war, and serves to show that the one in the wrong may sometimes win. He scored those whom he termed "Jingoes" in very strong terms, and said it is on account of them that this conference is called, and why we are trying to get a treaty of arbitration.

Bishop Keene, president of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C., was the next speaker, and noted the march of progress that had been made in the church; the hatred of different nationalities as wrong. Said it is shown in the United States that all nationalities can live under one government with peace and prosperity. The world must be governed by justice, love, and truth, not by force and might. How can we hope for peace unless it is by a system of arbitration as here proposed? The court must be the resort of nations as of men. That he was not here to blame the president or Congress for the recent war scare, neither was the conference here to blame for it. Our intention is to aid them in averting war.

President Patton of Princeton University was then introduced by the chairman, and gave a brief history of that institution. He said he desired to place himself and the college over which he presided on record as being in hearty sympathy with this movement. He spoke of the need of men who understood international law and diplomacy to handle this subject of arbitration. The only hope of the successful carrying out of the purpose of

this conference is in following out the evolution of the national conscience. We are coming to understand that war is not necessary unless we want it, and we do not want it. Is any one so blind that he cannot see that if Great Britain and the United States join hands in this great object, they would control the moral forces of the world? After the usual vote of thanks, the conference adjourned *sine die*.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable gatherings that have assembled in the capital city since the memorable close of the Pan-American Congress; and being essentially American, makes a fair showing of the educated public sentiment of the United States.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

IS THE DOUBLE STANDARD DESIRABLE AND IS IT POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN IT?

BY W. A. RICHARDSON.

ONE cannot read much of the bimetallic literature without being struck with the contradictions of assertion and claim therein made. To most of us it is confusing to read in Walker that there is a demand for that amount of money which is required to do the money work and no more—that no more can be used; and then to read in Carnushi and Tuck that there is an insatiable demand for money at the mint. It is confusing to read that free coinage would bring the silver dollar up to the value of the gold dollar; and then to read that it would be unjust to require the debtors to pay their obligations with the appreciated gold dollar. It is confusing to read that there is a divine relationship between gold and silver, and that in adopting the ratio of 16 to 1 we but reënact a divine ordinance; and then to read that the ratio between the two metals is a mere matter of law—that the ratio could be fixed at 1 to 1 if all the nations would but join in doing it.

To most of us there seems to be a contradiction between the claim that we adopted a double standard in 1792 and the claim that silver was made the standard by that law.

It seems inconsistent to claim that the "compensatory law" was deduced from the uniformly and universally practical working of bimetallism throughout thirty-five centuries of history, and to claim that France alone maintained the parity of the two metals from 1803 to 1873.

We cannot help wondering how it was that France alone, of all the countries under bimetallic laws, did all the work. We cannot help wondering how the United States committed a crime in 1873, if she had done nothing prior thereto toward keeping the two metals at a parity. We are puzzled to know why France,

and France alone, is not responsible for all the evils that have come from the demonetization of silver—if she alone maintained it at a parity with gold prior to 1874—nay, above gold in the ratio.

The friends and advocates of bimetallism are as conflicting as the writers. One will lay the stress on the need of more money, and will plant himself firmly on the quantitative theory. One will lay the stress on the efficacy of the law, and will work himself up to a corybantic frenzy over the crime of 1873. While others will, indifferently, use the demand and supply argument or the fiat argument—will ply you with heartless figures, or poetically personify silver as a wronged goddess. We seek the truth, and, despairing of getting our confusions cleared by reading this literature, we go to history.

We find that for more than eight hundred years after the fall of the Roman Empire the currencies of Europe, or at least Western Europe, rested on a silver basis. We find that in 1252 Florence minted the gold florin, in response to the demand of a growing trade, which came in the wake of the crusades. We find that with the recoinage of gold the "battle of the standards" commenced again. We find that "Florence, and the other Italian city republics, the several German states, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, England, and France put forth prodigious efforts to maintain the concurrent use of gold and silver as money." We find that these efforts were invariably attended with failure. We find that the legal ratio and the market ratio of these two metals were never one and the same for any length of time. We find that "all that states succeeded in obtaining, with all this vain striving, was an 'alternate standard,' now gold, now silver, but never both together."

This we find was the case in spite of the proclamation of kings, the edict of emperors, the bull of popes, and the fiat of legislatures; in spite of persecutions and gibbets. "States were forever passing laws and councils decreeing what the value of coins should be, the ratio of gold and silver in the coin, the rates for foreign exchange; and they were forever repealing and changing their regulations in consequence of the ever-changing mar-

ket values of the money metals." Finally, in 1798, England, to prevent the substitution of silver for gold, shut her mints to the white metal; and in 1816 legally adopted the gold standard. This is the story of bimetallism from 1252 to 1803.

We do not find that there has been any change in the working of bimetallism since 1803. According to the authorities, "none of the bimetallic systems have been any better able to maintain, for both metals at once, that equivalence between intrinsic and legal value which should characterize good money." First one money has been recoined and then the other, in order to fit their weight to the variations in value. Incessantly one of the moneys has become too heavy or too light, and the lighter money has driven the heavier out of circulation. "So that every country, which was nominally under the double system, has had but one of its two moneys in circulation, and that money was its worst one."

The experience of the United States is but the experience of all bimetallic countries. My readers are familiar with our bimetallic history; how from 1792 to 1834, under a double standard law, we used silver money; how from 1834 to 1862 under a double standard law, we used gold money; and how from 1862 to 1873, still under a double standard law, we used paper money. They will remember that the United States adopted the commercial ratio of 15 to 1 as its legal ratio in 1792; that the inflow of silver from Mexico disturbed this ratio the very next year; that in 1834 Congress, finding that silver had fallen and gold had gone out of use, tried to alter the legal ratio to correspond with the commercial ratio. You will remember that the new ratio (16 to 1) did not tie the two metals together any better than the old one had done; that this new ratio undervalued silver and drove it out of circulation. You will remember that soon after 1834 all the fractional silver coins disappeared from circulation; that their place was taken by underweight nondescript foreign coins, which, in sheer desperation, were made legal tender. You will remember that in 1853 Congress made our fractional silver token money by reducing the amount of fine silver in each coin; that this English expe-

dient was resorted to, rather than the old futile one of changing the ratio, in order to keep silver in circulation—to keep small change in circulation. You will remember that this country continued under a practical monometallism, with token silver coins, until the passage of the Act of 1873. You will remember that the silver dollar never was in circulation prior to 1873; that prior to 1804 it went from the mint to the West Indies, where it exchanged for the new Spanish dollar—one hundred of the same being equal to one hundred and one of our dollars at our mint. You will remember that Jefferson, in consequence of this fact, stopped the coining of the silver dollars after 1804, and that they were not coined again. You will remember that the silver dollar did not circulate after 1834, because it was too valuable for that purpose at the existing ratio. You will remember that the only dollars that ever did circulate here, prior to 1873, were dollars of South American coinage. You will remember that even the debased fractional silver coins did not circulate here, east of the Rocky Mountains, during the war.

The experience of France, with its ratio of 15.5 to 1, has been no happier than the experience of the United States, with its ratios of 15 to 1 and 16 to 1. The monetary history of France since 1803 has been no more happy than it was prior to 1803. We fail to find where silver and gold remained at par, for any length of time, in France. On the contrary, they varied in their market values in such a way that either silver drove out gold or gold drove out silver, just as in the United States. In the period between 1803 and 1850 silver was the only circulating medium, and in the period between 1850 and 1873 gold was the only circulating medium. The enormous production of Mexican silver, between 1780 and 1810, disturbed values there as elsewhere; made silver cheaper in the commercial ratio than in the legal ratio, and the cheaper silver drove the dearer gold out of circulation. Again, the enormous production of gold between 1848 and 1866 made gold cheaper in the commercial ratio than in the legal ratio—making silver more valuable as a commodity than as a money—and the cheaper gold drove the dearer silver out of circulation. Again, the enormous production of silver

after the year 1867 threatened to carry France back to a silver basis.

In 1816 England, after centuries of failures, abandoned the ratio, free coinage, and legal tender as means of keeping gold and silver concurrently in circulation, and adopted Lord Liverpool's scheme of debasing silver, limiting its coinage and its legal tender quality. In 1853, after exhausting every monetary expedient, in a vain attempt to keep fractional silver money in circulation, the United States adopted the English plan as to dimes, quarters, and halves. In 1865 France, and the Latin Union, suffering from a dearth of small change, adopted the English plan for all their money, except the five-franc piece.

In 1874 France, when threatened with an inundation of silver and an inevitable change of standards, shut her mints to the free coinage of silver—just as England had done under a like danger. "Before 1848 France chose to take large quantities of silver and neglect gold; after 1848 she chose to take large quantities of gold and neglect silver"; and after 1873 she chose to keep her gold and shut her mints to silver. "The idea that the law of 1803 created a new system and a new heaven for France is not verified by history." The law but reënacted the old ratio of 1785. "It was no more bimetallic than the law of 1785 or the law of 1610." Under it the values of gold and silver were governed by causes independent of the legal ratios. Under it free coinage did not preserve the parity between gold and silver, did not give them both a value at which they could remain in concurrent circulation. Under it the legal tender power did not keep silver at par with gold from 1803 to 1850, and did not keep gold at par with silver from 1850 to 1874.

In the light of all this; of all monetary history; of the long unbroken line of unsuccessful attempts at bimetallism, what are we to think of the "free coinage movement" in the United States? What are we to think of people who will ignore all past experience and profess to believe that unlimited coinage will change the present commercial ratio of 32 to 1 to the legal ratio of 16 to 1? What would be argument to these people? They are familiar with the fact that free coinage did not equalize the

small difference which existed between gold and silver prior to 1834; and yet they now profess to believe that unlimited coinage could double the price of silver. What evidence would they require to be convinced that coinage is nothing more and nothing less than a governmental guarantee that there is so much fine metal in each piece of money? They know that when they take their wheat and rye to mill, the wheat flour and the rye flour observe the same relative value that the wheat and rye did before they were ground; they know that this is a matter of supply and demand. But they profess to believe that gold and silver can be taken to the mint and the coinage be made to observe a different relative value from that of the gold and silver before they were coined. They know that the legal tender quality did not prevent the greenback from depreciating sixty or sixty-five per cent during the war, or when unsupported by a coin reserve. They know that in France the *assignat's* value depreciated so that "it took a basketful of money to buy a candle," and that, too, at a time when the penalty for not taking them at par was hanging. And yet they profess to believe that gold and silver can be made equal, at the ratio of sixteen to one, by free coinage privilege and legal tender quality.

Should we look upon this movement as a species of mania—an absence of regard for consequences; where there is an expectation of things for which there is no warrant in past experience; where the doctrine forbids the discussion of the probability of success or the possible effect of their enterprise; where they suspect every one who tries to dissuade them? Should we look upon the movement as led by men who know only too well the consequences that will attend it; as led by dishonest debtors who want a cheaper unit of payment? Should we look upon it as the movement of anarchists, who favor silver simply because it is depreciated money—a most excellent means by which to despoil the rich of half their wealth? Should we look upon it as the work of politicians, who see in its advocacy an opportunity for personal advancement; the work of designing demagogues, with their crafty attempts to widen the breach between the rich and poor, the lender and the borrower, the banker and

the farmer, by their insidious perversion of facts? Should we put the whole blame on interested mine-owners?

Or should we candidly acknowledge the fact that the great mass of the people who compose this movement are honest, but mistaken, men? Good men who imagine that a wrong has been done and would fain correct it? Sturdy westerners and hard-working farmers, who imagine themselves the victims of a legislative crime. Ill-informed men whose logic has gotten no further than the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* stage—who look back and see prosperity prior to 1873 and see the double standard and free coinage on the statute books, and hard times now and those laws off the statute books, and analyze these as cause and effect. No doubt the movement has in it sufferers who need the services of the alienist; has in it repudiationists, demagogues, and interested mine-owners, but the great mass of its followers are honest men who are amenable to facts; men who, after they have read a little more, studied a little more, thought a little more, analyzed a little more, will come to different conclusions.

Bimetallism is not as old as history. Bimetallism has never existed, unless you call the present system bimetallism, which it is in fact, the system which makes one money the standard and the other the token. The effort to establish bimetallism, however, is as old as history. Bimetallism is a theory and nothing more. A theory that it could be maintained if all the nations would adopt it—would adopt a common ratio. Philosophic bimetallists—doctrinaire bimetallists, as Mr. Bland calls them—admit that national bimetallism is an impossibility; admit that international free coinage is the only question. They say that "the fact that different legal ratios cannot coexist is no evidence that a single uniform ratio would not insure a parity."

How many or how few nations would it take to maintain bimetallism? Surely the union must be larger than the old Latin Union—France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, and Spain—for that union gave way before the flow of silver in 1874. It is admitted by many, if not most, international bimetallists, that unless all governments have the same regulations the legislation for the use of both metals will not

have the effect of keeping both in use at one time in a particular state.

This seemed so chimerical to Bagehot that he refused even to discuss it. And it must be confessed that, with every nation building higher and higher its wall of protection, and stronger and stronger its armament, there is very little promise of the early convening of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." It certainly requires an admirable degree of optimism to formulate a scheme whose success depends upon universal action.

But let us concede that England, and all other creditor nations, will surrender the advantages they now enjoy; that England will give up the advantageous central position of international payment she now occupies; will give up a monetary system which she evolved out of her suffering necessity, which has answered every requirement, for an uncertainty; will choose to go from an automatic to a managed currency. Let us concede that England will become an Altruria, and that all the nations of the earth will agree to come together to fix upon a ratio. What would happen then? Unless people are to become as wise as their governments have become good; unless the people are to presciently know the future, there will be a period of uncertainty and distrust. A period of waiting, in which all loans which can be will be called in and the moneys hoarded. A period in which business will be cut down to the minimum, in which many will be out of employment and much misery endured.

But let us concede that the suffering is in a good cause; that the end justifies the means. Let us concede that the conference meets. What will the ratio be? If law can create value; if the money use is the value-giving use, why not fix the ratio at 1 to 1? You know that this would not do. You know that there are preferences enough for gold—that there are uses, other than money uses, enough for gold—to carry it away from silver soon at this ratio.

How about 15.5 to 1? Or how about 16 to 1? Even at this ratio Giffen thinks the gold premium would be considerable.

He asks us if we have ever thought how little of a demand for silver bimetallism would really create. He suggests that England would be the only leading nation that would have to buy any silver; that all the others have enough to go over to the silver basis. And surely the silver nations would not need any more. Giffen, with other able financiers, thinks that universal bimetallism at the ratio of 15.5 or 16 to 1 would simply mean a silver basis. Of course 32 to 1 would not be acceptable to the friends of silver, because their desire is that gold and silver should be made legal tender at a ratio in which silver would be rated at a higher value than it is now. And even if they would accept it, how long would that ratio stand with gold coming in as it now is—coming in as it never did before, not even in the middle of the century? Yet to devise any other intermediate ratio is to act wholly in the dark. But we will concede that this is a matter of detail, which can be arranged some way or other.

Let us conceive the work of the conference as finished; that the nations of the earth have confirmed its work, and the commissioners have gone home to receive the thanks of a grateful people. Let us conceive that confidence is restored and business has revived. Then let us conceive that the great mercantile communities still persist in giving preference to gold; still find that gold is the most efficient machine for large transactions, what would happen then? Would this disturb the delicate adjustment between gold and silver, which the ratio expressed? Would this be sufficient to bring about a silver currency? So many able thinkers argue.

Or let us conceive that everything is running smoothly—the merchants' preference not being enough to disturb the adjustment—and then that another immense gold output, similar to that after 1848, a similar or greater being thought to be in progress today, should come and continue until the gold is overrated in the ratio. What would be the result then? Would this put the world on a gold basis? So able thinkers believe. How many adjustments would the world make, how much inconvenience would nations suffer from these transits, before they would in-

sist upon going back to the practical bimetallism which England evolved and we are all enjoying? The money use of a metal is not the exclusive and only value-giving use, else silver would be more valuable than gold, for it is certainly used more for money than is gold.

There are uses that gold, and gold alone, can satisfy—money uses, art uses, science uses, hoarding uses, fashion uses, taste uses, etc., just as there are uses that nothing but silver can satisfy. All these uses combined give value to gold. All these uses combined give value to silver. And these are not interchangeable. The relationship between these uses for gold and the supply of gold is one thing to-day, and may be an entirely different thing a few years from to-day. And such is the case with silver—the two metals having their separate sources of supply. Gold and silver may be adjusted to one another to-day, but the adjustment would not express the true relationship for all time to come. "The selection of the standard gives no sort of clue to the extent of the subsequent demand for the standard substance." Things which are equal to the same thing are not equal to each other in finance; simply making gold and silver equal to debts does not make them equal to each other.

Giffen and many other financiers and political economists think that the non-money use of the metals is greater than the money use. They think "that the money demand is not that last margin of demand to which the last margin of supply is adjusted, and by which the ratio of exchange between the precious metals and other articles will be finally settled." Even in the extreme case suggested—universal free coinage, universal ratio, and universal legal tender—it may be demonstrated, we think, that a fixed ratio would not be maintained between the two metals, gold and silver. And if it can be proved that bimetallism would not necessarily be a success even with a union of all nations, probably would not be a success, then this is the final and conclusive answer to bimetallism.

The only possible bimetallism that would be effective would be, not only an international bimetallism, but an inter-personal bimetallism. If back of the legal enactments people should pre-

fer gold to the extent that they now do, and we say they would, then the same condition would prevail as now. There is a way, as long as there is liberty, to contract law out of use—as was done in England between 1696 and 1816. There is a way of making the requirements of the law-merchant more binding than the statutory law. The merchant was allowed to pay his debts with silver all the time between 1696 and 1816, but he preferred to keep his business standing. Every one in the United States was allowed to pay his debts with the depreciated greenback, but California maintained the gold basis all during the war.

Monometallists are told by a certain class of bimetallists that they do not know the object, purpose, aim, and meaning of bimetallism; that they have needlessly taxed their imaginations to find objections to something which is not contemplated or thought of or desired. They say that a universal concurrence of nations is not needed, and that a concurrent circulation of the two metals is not sought. We quote from one of the writers of this class: "The argument that bimetallism did not exist in France because the two metals did not circulate concurrently in that country; and France was, therefore, a gold-using country or a silver-using country, is not an argument against it; for surely it was that very circumstance that kept the ratio steady." We quote from President Walker: "Accepting the existence of a large group of countries in which gold naturally circulates as money and another in which silver is used, we propose to create a league of states, some of which may be called silver states and some gold states, which shall each for itself, but by simultaneous action, establish the free coinage of the two metals, making the money of the one metal to be legal tender indifferently with money of the other metal, in payment of debts, at a certain determined ratio." "Bimetallists assert," he says, "that if such a league be formed between a considerable number of important commercial countries, even though it does not embrace all countries, the relative value of gold and silver will be kept close to the mint ratio so established." "The object," he says, "is to establish a par of exchange between silver-using

countries and gold-using countries, and to give a greater volume of money and a more stable money." He expects it to work "through the desire of every debtor to meet his obligations with the cheaper money." He thinks that this extension of demand would act directly in controvention of the force which is lowering values; that "whenever the values of the two metals alter, these bimetallic countries would act as equalizing machines." This class of writers dwell much upon the fall of silver after 1874, and they think that this fall proves how much the bimetallic tie did before that time.

It is fair to state that the candid writers among this class admit that France suffered some inconvenience from the constant tendency of one metal or the other to leave the country. But all this they hope to eradicate by a league of states, when, they believe, all preferences for one metal over the other would be obliterated. Such a regulation, they maintain, tends to keep more money in use, and any inconvenience arising from this alternation is amply compensated for by the greater abundance of money.

Monometallists admit that between 1820 and 1848 the commercial ratio between gold and silver was practically 15.5 to 1—the same as the legal ratio in France—and that it did not vary much from this relationship. But they deny that the French law had anything to do with it.

They argue that, when the tendency is to make the cheaper metal still cheaper, bimetallism can have no influence of any sort; that it is powerless to arrest the fall, because the bimetallic country, or league, has already got the cheaper metal and has none of the dearer metal, which is becoming dearer, to exchange; that prior to 1848 the tendency was for silver to become cheaper and France had nothing but silver as currency. They admit that so long as France had any considerable amount of silver, after 1848, to exchange for gold, she did to that extent aid in steadying the value of gold. They assert that "if all bimetallic countries had the same ratio and the cheaper metal tended to become cheaper still, they would simply be as one country." They assert that the bimetallic tie was ruptured in 1874 because

the fall of silver, actual and apprehended, made it impossible to maintain it. Giffen sums up his objections to this phase of bimetallism thus: "Its boasted superiority over the single standard consists in the promise of abundant money, which it does not and cannot fulfill; in the greater steadiness in the exchanges, which it will only keep in certain circumstances, while it does not matter whether the promise is kept or not; and in the greater stability in the standard of value, which it may fulfill in certain circumstances. On the other hand, whether particular or universal, the system will be attended with no small inconvenience, such as incessant changes of the money in use, and interference with the natural taste of communities in the choice of their money."

Now let it be remembered that the whole burden of proof is on bimetallism. Are you satisfied with the case they make out? Have you no doubts as to its ability to accomplish its aim? Not only is the opposite system in operation, but that system has the merit of simplicity. The opposite system is automatic, and, moreover, it accomplishes all that bimetallism sought, before the strange theories of modern times came in, namely, keeping gold in use for large transactions and large payments, and silver for small transactions and small payments.

We do not believe that international bimetallism is practicable. We do not believe that national bimetallism is possible. We do not believe that bimetallism is even desirable. If it were practicable and possible to maintain bimetallism, it has one fatal objection, it is a managed currency and requires constant governmental supervision. "If there is anything about a money system to be managed, the danger is that the cunning few or the turbulent mob, not the sober masses, do the managing." The fitness of government is as much a part of the problem as anything else. The interference of government in the matter of standard money is not universally admitted to be the proper thing. Mr. Herbert Spencer maintains the exact contrary. He holds that "while one of the main functions of governments is to enforce contracts between man and man, yet it is also of the highest expediency that government should permit the utmost

freedom in the making of the contracts themselves; and that this freedom is interfered with when government takes it on itself to meddle with the coinage." What better commentary do we need upon managed currencies and governmental interference than the mere fact that people may be made to believe that a crime was committed by the Act of 1873? They believe that the money power got hold of the legislative bodies of the world and got them to demonetize silver, and yet they would put the stability of money completely within their control.

The only practical question, the only issue that bimetallism presents—especially national bimetallism—is whether we will have a gold or a silver standard. The gold standard has come to pass in the way of nature. It is here and it is presumed to be good until the contrary appears.

Here, again, the burden of proof is on the friends of silver. It is incumbent upon them to prove that the silver standard would give a greater volume of money, and to prove that a greater volume of money is a desirable thing. It is incumbent upon them to prove that simply increasing the pieces of money increases the total wealth and enables any one to buy more of other things. It is incumbent upon them to prove that the volume of circulating medium is of more moment than the permanence of the standard of value. It is incumbent upon them to prove that there would be no change in the standard of value, that the equities of existing contracts would not be disturbed; or to prove that the silver standard would bring blessings which would more than compensate for the disturbances and suffering that would attend the change. It is incumbent upon them to prove that gold has enhanced in value; that the debtor class has been robbed by past legislation; that the present creditor class is composed of the same individuals who got the benefit of that legislation, and the present debtor class of the same individuals who were robbed. It is incumbent upon them to prove that falling prices is a calamity, and that they can give any relief to the farmer, or any that is not at the cost of the wages of labor.

The burden of proof is wholly on the side of silver—this cannot be insisted on too strongly.

We do not believe that the great sensible, sober, honest American people will jump at a conclusion in so important a matter. They will be convinced, beyond a peradventure of doubt, before they will give aid and comfort to this revolutionary silver movement, before they will tamper with the standard of values—in terms of which all transactions are expressed. They will be certain that free coinage will not alter the wages of every workman to his hurt; will not reduce the value of the accumulated savings of the working people, which is invested in savings banks, building associations, life insurance policies, and small loans. They will be certain that free coinage will not take from the grizzled and maimed and feeble old soldiers part of their pensions.

W. A. RICHARDSON.

THE SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN CALIFORNIA.

BY MISS ADELINE KNAPP.

TO cut across what appears to be a strong current of popular opinion is an undertaking always attended by difficulties, and rarely pleasant. In a good many instances it seems, as well, an unprofitable undertaking, and can only be entered upon with the feeling that pleasure and profit are not, after all, the whole of life.

For any woman, in these days, and in the state of California, to voice deprecation of the present suffrage movement which is here engaging public attention, is a peculiarly uninviting task. There are sharp tongues and trenchant pens all ready to deal with offenders in that direction, and, if nothing worse attends upon the guilty one, she is certain to be publicly denounced as "an enemy to her sex," an accusation vested with all the terrors of vagueness, and sufficient in itself to deter most women from giving expression to any opinion that runs counter to the apparent general trend.

And the interest in the suffrage question in this state is just now very general. During the coming autumn the voters of California will be called upon to decide whether the franchise shall be granted to women in the state, and as a consequence the suffragists are in the midst of an active campaign, the object of which is to enlighten men upon this great question. They are pushing their work with great vigor. Miss Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, and half a dozen other famous agitators from the East, have been imported to the coast, and are going up and down the land seeking whom they may convert.

Briefly stated, the situation is this: The last legislature was asked, by a committee from one of the suffrage societies, to pass a bill conferring the suffrage upon the women of California. This the legislature declined to do, but, instead, submitted a

proposition to amend the constitution by striking out the word "male" from Section 1, Article II., thereof, which defines and enumerates the persons now entitled to vote at elections in this state.

The proposed amendment is to be voted upon next November, and confers full suffrage upon women, as it is now enjoyed by men, in California. As can readily be imagined, all the ardent suffragists in the Union are rallying to the support of the cause out here by the Golden Gate. Meetings are being held everywhere in the state, and the imported talent which has been brought here to carry the day for suffrage is active, eloquent, and ubiquitous.

And in the midst of it all is heard, from women, at least, scarcely a dissenting voice. The onlooker, in fact, might well be justified in concluding that the women of California are unanimous in desiring equal political privileges with men.

Nevertheless, such a conclusion would be incorrect. It might be interesting could it be known just what proportion of California's thousands of women have enrolled themselves as members of the various suffrage associations and are working for the "cause." There are reasons, other than acquiescence, why those who are not in favor of the movement are not leading or participating in a counter-effort. Those who believe that the real, and most effectual, work of women is personal, rather than public, cannot, with any degree of consistency, take the rostrum in defense of that proposition. Then, too, they are, as a general thing, otherwise, and actively, employed. The fact must not, however, be ignored, that there is in California a very large body of women who are by no means in sympathy with this demand for the suffrage, and who regard its outcome with apprehension, its methods with disapproval.

It does not follow that because they thus regard this movement, they are satisfied with the way in which men are conducting the affairs of the nation. Most of them are highly dissatisfied with existing conditions. But there is a wide difference between dissatisfaction with the way the country is governed and a belief that they could govern it better.

That some women, and some men, honestly believe that women could do better than the men have done in this regard, is true, and they are earnestly urging their belief as a reason why women should be granted a voice in the government. Their belief in the mystical power of the ballot would be funny, were it not pathetic. One dear mother of a large family, arguing this point recently, told how she had asked her husband to bring her home a mop-stick. When he gave it to her she said: "Why did you bring me such a rough, unpleasant thing as this?" "My dear," he replied, "I picked out the smoothest one I could find among forty." "And there," pursued the dear soul, "was an axe-helve, he had brought for himself, smoothed and rounded to fit his hand. That was made for a man. Anything is good enough for a woman. Now"—waxing more earnest—"if the ballot is going to give us women better mop-sticks, then I want the ballot."

Last year during the "Women's Congress," an annual gathering of the clans on this coast, I heard the statement made by one of the speakers who has been again brought here to talk for suffrage, that the housework of the world is poorly done; that women have not yet reduced it to a science, but that, when the men undertake it, and make a business of it as they do of their undertakings, it will be done as it should be. This statement was "applauded to the echo," and when, almost immediately after, the same speaker asserted that men have made a failure of government, but that when women come into power the world will be better governed, the same kid gloves that were nearly split in applauding the first statement were similarly endangered by the rapturous approval that greeted the second.

Now, beyond a peradventure, men and women, working together, can do better work than men alone, or women alone, can ever accomplish. This is a scientific fact which all the facts of nature tend to confirm. Everywhere in nature we see the dual principle, male and female, coöperating to accomplish the perfect race-type. But we see them working together, the dual element, each in the uses of its own share in the common life. These uses are not identical. If they were, nature, who never

wastes force or effort, who never produces two seeds where one is sufficient to preserve racial life, would never have made the two elements. It is not alone that they are essential to the reproduction of the species, but the separate work of each is essential to the safety and preservation of the race. If either element fails in its work, the race suffers. It may, for a time, adjust itself to the bad condition, the surviving use-following element seeking to do the work of both, but the thing that survives is not the perfect, or even the progressive race-type. It is only the thing that is fittest to survive. And survival of the fittest, be it always understood, by no means implies survival of the best.

The teaching of science is not only that the dual principle is the basis of life, but that the higher principle, the real race-type, is female. In those orders that nearest approach the human in polity, and furnish forth a popular argument for feminine government, the ants and the bees, it is true that the dominant element is female, the males of each order being merely "a sub-species told off for purposes of reproduction," dying when their work is completed. But—and the fact is full of significance, though always overlooked by those who cite these creatures as examples of natural government—the actual business of the body politic, so curiously like the human in its workings, is not done by the females, but by the "neuters" among the ants, and the "workers" among the bees, sexless creatures both, undeveloped females, without the power of reproducing their kind, another sub-species, told off for purposes of toil and government.

Nature teaches that the female is the race-type, but nowhere does she teach that the mothers of a race must be also its governors and maintainers.

Government is by no means the highest human function. It is but one means by which human life is conducted. It is a lubricant, so to speak, for the machinery of human life. The real work of that machinery is the perfection of the race-type. For this type woman, as the more highly specialized element in life, is more responsible than man. Her part comes first. If

man has made a failure of government it is because she, and man through her, has made a failure of that which is back of all government, personal character. Now, there are scientific reasons why it is not politic for one half of a race to attempt the work of the other half, even when the work is badly done and the race seems fated to suffer. In the long run such action means degeneration of type. And government, the making of laws, is the work of man, not because it is the highest human work, for it is not; nor because man is the rightful head of the race, for he is not, but because, in the necessary work for the comfort and well-being of the race, that naturally falls to his share, as, for natural reasons, the burden of perpetuating the race falls upon woman. For woman to undertake carrying both burdens, even under the apparent pressure of necessity, while it may bring temporary relief of bad conditions, is a short-sighted policy, bearing within itself the workings of its own confusion.

"It is not just," Miss Anthony recently contended, "for one class to attempt to represent another." We hear this constantly, the wrongfulness of one class legislating for another, but the argument is open to criticism on two counts. First, that women are *not* a class, and cannot be considered as one, and second, that it is necessary, must always be necessary, that some should legislate for others. We, of to-day, legislate for generations yet unborn. We bond our cities and contract debts that our grandchildren must pay, and conduct the business of the world as though it were to cease with ourselves.

I am not denying—I could not deny—the hardship that present conditions work for individual women. I only question, and question seriously, whether the ballot would have any effect to lessen these hardships. The most of them are, after all, the outcome of general, rather than particular economic conditions, and must be dealt with along lines that do not lie within the province of this discussion. The fact is, the ballot is by no means the cure-all that we who do not have it are wont to consider it. I once asked a large meeting of workingmen, assembled to consider hard times, how much good each thought his

ballot had done him. Their only reply was a half-suppressed, wholly sad, and very general laugh.

And this brings us, logically, to a brief consideration of an economic objection to the enfranchisement of women. If there were no other arguments against the proposed "reform" this, it seems to me, is a crucial one. Remember that I am talking of women as half the human race, and not of the comparatively few independent, or self-dependent women who *do* form a class, but a very small one, to enfranchise all for the sake of whom would be "class legislation" with a vengeance.

The great mass of women are not independent financially. They work, the majority of them, hard enough to render them independent, were economic conditions different, but the fact remains that they are dependent upon fathers, upon brothers, or upon husbands, as the case may be, and no payment to them of wages, or allowance, from any of these can render them productive laborers in the economic sense. The wife may declare that she earns her living. In most cases she renders more than its equivalent in work. Nevertheless, she does *not* "earn her living" in the economic sense. She only shares the living which her husband earns, and his day's wages are no more as a married man than are those of the single man toiling beside him. The wife may make the husband's earnings "go further" for two or four or more than he could do for himself alone, but the economic fact remains that she shares his living. She is dependent upon him, entitled to support from him, not because she works for him, but because she is his wife. He could not, legally, compel her to do a single stroke of work for him, but she can, legally, compel him to support her so long as she is his wife. The *status*, then, of a married woman is, under existing conditions, must almost inevitably be, one of dependence. The *condition* of a majority of unmarried women is one of dependence. And where, in history or in rationality, do we find any sanction for precipitating upon a community a mass of dependent voters, however intelligent, however well intentioned they may be?

I believe it is quite likely that this will ere long be done in California. The advocates of suffrage are zealous and eloquent.

The sympathies of philanthropy are awakened by the oft-recited tale of woman's wrongs. The hopes of social reformers have been aroused by the recital of what may be accomplished by the ballot in woman's hand, and it is likely that ere long these will be influenced in numbers sufficient to accomplish her enfranchisement. It may not be so, but philanthropy and social reform are among the most insidious of modern diseases, and it is probable that the extent of their influence upon human mentality has not yet been estimated.

If the women of California are enfranchised it is probable that most of them will fulfill their new duty to the best of their enlightenment, but there are conditions present in the state that must fill the thoughtful mind with apprehension as to what would be the result of a large female vote. The fact is incontrovertible, I believe, that despite the assertions to the contrary of suffrage advocates, a large number of our women realize this fact, and are by no means eagerly desirous of seeing suffrage duties devolve upon the sex.

ADELINE KNAPP.

HOW TO MAKE THE VICE-PRESIDENCY ATTRACTIVE.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT, ESQ.

THE refusal of Speaker Reed to accept a nomination for the vice-presidency—an office of higher official rank and dignity than the one he now occupies, as well as involving a possible succession to the presidency—coupled with the declination of other public men of strong character and undoubted political ambition, simply adds one more proof that the framers of our Constitution erred seriously when they made of the vice president of the United States a presiding officer of a debating club. Strong and active men naturally desire positions of power or influence. Logically, the second highest office in the government should be the second in power or influence or in both combined. Practically, it is an office without either power or influence. Whatever influence the personality of the incumbent may exert could as well be put forth as a distinguished private citizen. It is no wonder, therefore, that our active public men look with disfavor on the vice-presidency, that a United States senator objects to being "promoted" to the position of listener to the debates in which as senator he may take an important, perhaps controlling, part. A really able man will prefer the substance of power and opportunity to the shadow of official rank. He will choose to assist in the making of history, rather than be a passive observer of events. Hence the well-understood difficulty in procuring men of presidential caliber for the vice-presidential office.

This condition of affairs is not only absurd. It is unfortunate. It is fraught with grave danger to the public welfare. Four times has a vice-president become president; and it will be conceded that in two of the cases, at least, the country suffered by the incapacity of the man who passed from the office of "Mr. President" of the Senate for which he was selected, to the office

of the president of the United States for which he was not selected and for which he had not displayed any conspicuous qualification. The cause and effect of the unattractiveness of the vice-presidency are so apparent that it is useless further to discuss them. A remedy will be here suggested.

The vice-president unquestionably should be, in all respects, the peer of the president. There should never be the slightest cause for apprehension if, unhappily, death should rob the country of one president, it would give another of inferior ability. It is folly to assume that we shall ever have a president of such transcendant ability that practically his equal cannot be found. That equal we want for the vice-president for the same reason that we want the first for president. For to be vice-president is perhaps to become president. But this second officer of our government, as intimated above, does not want merely to be a gentleman in waiting for the presidency. He rightfully desires to wield as much power, at least, as a city alderman.

Nevertheless, this office is important, if not necessary, and it behooves us to seek to make it attractive to the same class of men who aspire to the presidency. A slight constitutional change might bring about the desired result. The vice-president is now *ex-officio* president of the Senate. He may have superior qualifications for this position and be but poorly equipped for the presidency, or the reverse may be the case. We are, therefore, guilty of the absurdity of placing a man in one position while he awaits a possible call to another which demands an order of talent in no wise necessarily connected with qualification for the first. The first thing, then, to do, is to relieve the vice-president of his duties as presiding officer of the Senate and to permit that body to choose from among its own members some one specially qualified to preside over its deliberations. The vice-president would still have a casting vote when the Senate should be evenly divided, and this casting vote which he now possesses is the key to the solution of our difficulty. In so far as he casts this vote he is a member of the Senate as a senator-at-large, representing the entire country. If, on rare occasions, he may properly act as senator for the whole country, why not let

him do so at all times? If, however, it should be objected that this would be giving some one state, practically, three senators all the time instead of occasionally only, as now, and would, in consequence, be objected to as destroying the existing equilibrium between the states in the Senate, then let him have only an occasional casting vote as now, but give to him full rights on the floor with the freedom of debate and all the rights of a member excepting the right to vote when there should not be a tie. This change would, at once, lift the office into a position of real dignity and influence. The incumbent would hold a sort of primacy on the floor of the Senate. Like the prime minister of England, he would, in no mean degree, speak for the country. When public measures should be under discussion, it would be expected of him that he would speak, and the country would listen to the man who might at any moment become president.

If it be said that a voice without a vote would be illusory so far as power and influence are concerned, the reply is, that the position would make that voice a potent one in the Senate and before the country. The president has no vote in Congress, yet no one would pretend that a written message from the president recommending legislation is without its influence on public opinion, and consequently on Congress itself. Nor would the spoken voice of the vice-president—and possible president—be without its weight in the Senate, while it would be the one most eagerly listened to by the public. A presiding officer of a body which did not even choose him is necessarily out of touch with the members of the body, but a man moving among them, sharing in their deliberations and representing the whole people, would possess a dignity and prestige above that of any of the regular members, and no one would be likely to decline the position because he preferred to be a simple senator from a single state.

The public good requires that something be done to make the office of vice-president more attractive. Can anything better than the plan here proposed be suggested? If so, let us hear what it may be. All can unite in saying that something should be done.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

MUNICIPAL HOME RULE.*

BY CLARENCE S PALMER, ESQ.

THE problem of the government of large cities is one of the most important questions of the day. It may safely be said that in municipal law the last word has not yet been spoken; the highest wisdom not yet attained.

It is not my purpose to discuss the general questions of municipal law, but to speak only of that branch of the subject related to our own example of municipal home rule.

The municipal corporation as we know it is a modern affair. At the formation of our government only thirteen cities had a population of more than five thousand, not one of forty thousand. When the fathers of the republic framed the constitution of the nation and states, there was little need of attention to the law of municipal corporations—and the supply of attention did not exceed the demand.

After the formation of our state governments, municipal corporations were created by special act of the legislature. "The Mayor and Common Council" form the framework of nearly all of them. Under these special acts many admirable charters were framed—many poor ones. With the rapid increase in the number of cities in the various states, and the constant growth of those already existing, serious difficulties arose.

A large part of the time of state legislatures was taken up in framing and amending special laws relating to cities and villages. Of the 808 acts passed by the legislature of New York in 1870, 213 related to cities and villages, 96 to cities, and 36 to the city of New York alone. During the ten years from 1880 to 1889 inclusive, there were framed by the same body 390 acts amending the charter or laws governing New York City, and 189 relating to Brooklyn.

---

* Read before Kansas City Bar Association, March 7, 1896.

In the Wisconsin Session Acts of 1885 there were five hundred acts relating to the charters of cities and villages, filling 1,372 pages, while all the other acts of the legislature filled 600 pages.

The marvelous growth in the number of corporations, including municipal corporations, was strongly stated by Judge Caton of Illinois, in the case of Railway *vs.* Dalby, 19 Ill. 353. "It is probable that the last session of the Illinois Legislature (that of 1857) created more corporations than were known in the whole civilized world at the beginning of the century."

In addition to the absorption of the time of legislatures, such a mass of amendments made the law complicated and uncertain.

Says Chief Justice Church: "It is scarcely safe for any one to speak confidently on the exact condition of the law in respect to public improvements in the cities of New York and Brooklyn. The enactments referring thereto have been modified, superseded, and repealed so often and to such an extent that it is difficult to ascertain just what statutes are in force at any particular time. The uncertainties arising from such multiplied and conflicting legislation lead to incessant litigation with its expensive burdens, public and private."

Again, the special charter and possibility of amendments offered constant temptations for the passage of bills useful only to further some personal or partisan purpose.

The history of the cities in this country where the political majority of the state legislature was opposed to that of the city, contains a discreditable catalogue of vicious and unjust laws, responsible for much bad government; and it is nearly as bad where the legislature and the city were in political accord.

Government of cities from the state capital has been a favorite method of giving partisan advantages and depriving people of cities of their rightful voice in the conduct of their own affairs.

These evils became so great that several states have by their constitutions prohibited any special legislation in regard to cities and villages. These states provide for the incorporation of cities and villages under general laws. Such is the Missouri law. This system on the whole is considered a great improvement on the old system, which enabled the legislature to change the

charter of a city or village without the knowledge of a single resident and without affecting any other community. This plan, however, has its disadvantages. Suppose a city of a certain class, by reason of more rapid growth or some peculiarity of situation, desires some needed change in the law relating to cities of its class, and its representatives seek aid from the state legislature. A campaign of education must be begun to explain the situation to the legislators, representing other cities of the same class, and the difficulty of securing legislative relief often means total failure. Sometimes it happens that a few vigorous legislators from cities desiring a change will succeed in passing their law, and thus amend the charter of all cities of the class without the knowledge or against the will of other cities affected.

All students of the municipal problem are agreed that home rule is a condition precedent to permanent good government. Seth Low, as mayor of Brooklyn, says on this subject:

"The many appeals to the legislature for charter amendment of one kind and another have bred a habit in some of the states, if not in all, of constant interference by the legislature with the local details of city action. This interference, though often prompted by a genuine desire to relieve a city from pressing evils, has tended very greatly to lessen the sense of responsibility on the part of the local officials and upon the part of communities themselves. It is one of the best effects of Brooklyn's charter that it has helped to create in that city a very decided spirit of home rule, which is ready to protest at any moment against interference on the part of the state with local matters. . . . It is not too much to say that the greatest anxieties of my term sprang from the uncertainties and difficulties of this unusual contest, on the one hand to advance the interest of the city, and on the other to save it from harm in its relations to the law-making power of the state."

In 1876 a commission was appointed to devise a plan for the government of cities and villages in the state of New York. Of the commission William M. Evarts was chairman.

One of the evils of the present system in that state was stated

as the "assumption by the legislature of the direct control of local affairs." Under this head the report says:

"This legislative intervention has necessarily involved a disregard of one of the most fundamental principles of republican government (the self-government of municipalities). . . . . The representatives elected to the central (state) legislature have not the requisite time to direct the local affairs of the municipalities. . . . They have not the requisite knowledge of details. . . . When a local bill is under consideration in the legislature, its care and explanation are left exclusively to the representatives of the locality to which it is applicable; and sometimes by express, more often by tacit understanding, local bills are 'log-rolled' through the houses. Thus legislative duty is delegated to the local representatives, who, acting frequently in combination with the sinister elements of their constituency, shift the responsibility for wrong-doing from themselves to the legislature. But what is even more important, the general representatives have not that sense of personal interest and personal responsibility to their constituents which is indispensable to the intelligent administration of local affairs. And yet the judgment of the local governing bodies in various parts of the state and the wishes of their constituents are liable to be overruled by the votes of legislators living at a distance of one hundred miles.

"It may be true that the first attempts to secure legislative intervention in the local affairs of our principal cities were made by good citizens in the supposed interest of reform and good government, and to counteract the schemes of corrupt officials. The notion that legislative control was the proper remedy was a serious mistake. The corrupt cliques and rings thus sought to be baffled were quick to perceive that in the business of procuring special laws concerning local affairs, they could easily outmatch the fitful and clumsy labors of disinterested citizens. The transfer of the control of the municipal resources from the localities to the (state) capital had no other effect than to cause a like transfer of the method and arts of corruption, and to make the fortune of our principal cities the traffic of the lobbies.

Municipal corruption previously confined within territorial limits thenceforth escaped all bounds and spread to every quarter of the state." . . .

The very first remedy recommended by the New York committee was: "A restriction of the power of the legislature to interfere by special legislation with municipal governments, or the conduct of municipal affairs." A year before this the people of Missouri had adopted what seems to have been a new principle in municipal legislation. Our constitution for the first time recognized the doctrine that the government of the large city is a problem so different from the ordinary questions passed upon by the state legislatures, that there is no reason why the legislature should regulate the local concerns of the large cities.

Our big sister on the Mississippi is entitled to the credit of this provision of the Missouri constitution. A committee of her citizens wished not only to separate the city from the county, but to give the people a chance to pass directly on the organic law of the city. This provision, therefore, was the result of a desire for a special privilege for one city. I am told by a member of the constitutional convention of 1875 that the provision under which our city is now organized was inserted, not because the convention cared for it as a practical provision, but at the suggestion of Judge T. T. Gantt, of St. Louis, who wished the general provision inserted in order to help carry the special provision for St. Louis in the vote of the people. At that time our city had less than 50,000 people. In ten years we had acquired the requisite population, and in four years more we had availed ourselves of the provision of the constitution.

California in 1879 partly followed our example. In the constitution adopted that year, it was provided that cities of more than 100,000 might form their own charter by a board of fifteen freeholders, the charter so framed to be adopted by a vote of the people. In California, however, the charter does not become operative until it is ratified by the legislature. Amendments are made in the same way, but there seems to be no provision preventing amendments directly by the legislature. This provision

of the constitution was amended in 1887, so as to apply to cities of more than 10,000.

When Washington was admitted to the Union the constitution contained a provision almost identical with our own, allowing all cities of more than 20,000 to form their own charters. This constitution may be amended in a manner similar to our own. There is no provision prohibiting amendments by the legislature, and a recent writer on city governments assumes that the legislature may amend the charter. In Washington every city of sufficient population has availed itself of the provision of the constitution, and Tacoma, Seattle, and Spokane are to-day living under home-made charters.

In reference to St. Louis the constitution provides that: "notwithstanding the provisions of this article the General Assembly shall have the same power over the city and county of St. Louis that it has over other cities and counties of this state."

This provision is not contained in the sections of the constitution under which Kansas City is organized. It was thought until a year ago that the legislature still had authority by general laws to enact any legislation regarding the city, including that purely local. The Supreme Court in the Park case taught us better, and under that decision we are to-day beyond the power of the legislature in our local affairs. The constitution, so interpreted, did what no other American constitution ever did—created an *imperium in imperio* paramount, within certain limits, to the general legislative power of the state.

The proposition is a little startling at first. Beach, in his work on public corporations, calls it a "remarkable provision." But when one stops to think about it, is it not a little absurd that we used to have to consult the wisdom of the statesmen from Stone and Ozark and Dunklin Counties when we wished to change the law affecting second-class sidewalks in Kansas City? Much more reasonable is the present law, which says that the people of Kansas City made the charter, it can be changed only by their will. In an admirable paper read about a year ago, Mr. W. C. Scarritt pointed out very clearly the legal effect of the decision in the Park case. I will only call attention to some

results which ought to follow in the public spirit of the people of the city.

In the first place, Kansas City is one of only five cities in the country which have the authority to make and amend their own charter without the aid of the legislature.

Secondly, if I am right in my construction of the constitution of Washington, and if the Supreme Court of this state shall hold that the provision above cited makes St. Louis subject to the will of the legislature, the same as other cities of the state, Kansas City is the only city in the country whose charter can be amended by vote of her own people, *and not otherwise.*

The people of this city can, therefore, determine not only who shall administer its affairs, but what its law shall be, subject to the constitution. This fact should tend to make our people alive to the importance of an intelligent and efficient conduct of public affairs. There are some evidences that there is already such a result.

The total vote on charter amendments of 1892 was 8,630.

The total vote on charter amendments in 1895 was 12,074; the vote at the last city election was 22,207.

This shows on the part of the people a growing interest in the question of what our law shall be. It is a sign of an active public sentiment when the vote on questions as to what the law shall be is about 60 per cent of the vote on the selection of public officers who distribute municipal patronage. This power to make and amend our own laws might be used unwisely and to our great annoyance and injury. If the time should ever come that a strong majority of our people should believe that morality and prosperity could be brought about by amending the charter, we might be adopting every new fad on the one hand and every exploded theory on the other, but our experience does not cause anxiety on this account. Of one thing we may be sure, what the people want they can have. When a desirable change has conquered public opinion the way is open to crystallize it into the organic law of the city. These are days of great progress in the scope and methods of governing a great city. The up to date city of 1860 is scarcely more to be

compared with the end of the century city than is the Sheidley Building, the best office building ten years ago, to be compared with the New York Life Building of to-day. We can learn much more from our own experience, but it seems to me we ought to avoid mistakes and sometimes spell out progress by learning from others.

It occurs to me that the two bodies met here to-night could render a valuable service to this community by each maintaining an active and studious committee, whose duty should be to keep abreast of the best thought and most successful experiments in the line of municipal government, and make practical reports to their respective organizations.

When any proposed change in our charter has commended itself to the business judgment of the Commercial Club, and the legal judgment of the Bar Association, we may with absolute certainty look to our enterprising friends of the press to make a vigorous campaign for the advancement of Kansas City, and then each newspaper to modestly take all the credit for the successful accomplishment of the desired end.

Kansas City for twenty years has virtually had a home-made charter, for the charter of 1875 was drafted by a representative committee and passed without legislative tinkering. It was a good charter, admirably adapted to the needs of the city. The new charter, twice changed by important amendments, is a good charter, but it may be improved. Having due regard to avoiding frequent changes, carefully considering what amendments are wise, the people of Kansas City ought to be satisfied with nothing poorer than the best possible charter, under the constitution of Missouri.

CLARENCE S. PALMER.

THE RELATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO HISTORY.

BY CHANCELLOR J. W. LOWBER, PH.D., LL.D., F. R. G. S.

POLITICAL science is itself an historic science. The history of the science of politics affords much food for reflection. History has thus far dealt too much with armies and navies, and has neglected too much that which properly governs both. The science of politics, like almost all other sciences, had its origin among the classic Greeks. Plato and Aristotle wrote learnedly on the subject, and it would be well for many modern writers to go back to Aristotle. During the medieval period Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Bracton, and others gave some interesting thoughts on the subject. In the modern period Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, Sir Thomas Smith, and Hobbs were the earliest investigators of the science of politics. Hooker, Locke, Rousseau, and Hobbs contributed much to the development of the science. Hume, Montesquieu, and Burke also gave it much attention. We may name as the greatest writers on the subject of the present century, Bentham, Austin, Maine, Kant, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Laboulaye. Do you suppose that many modern politicians know that there is such a thing as the science of politics? It is perfectly safe to state that many of them never gave as much as a month's attention to the subject. I hope the time will soon come when no man can hold office in this country who is not able to show his qualifications by having passed a thorough examination.

2. Political history shows how political science has gradually eliminated ruinous political fictions. Profane as well as sacred history teaches us that in primeval times government was patriarchal. The patriarch was absolute ruler of his family and in most cases a complete despot. In process of time warrior patriarchs became great conquerors, and established extended despotisms. Great leaders became absolute monarchs,

and concluded that the people were specially designed by providence to be their slaves. It was in many respects an age of barbarism. The conqueror looked upon his conquests as his own special property, and the subject people he thought belonged to him to kill or enslave, just as he might think best. His crown was transmitted to his family, and thus originated that diabolical fiction called "the divine right of kings." The divine right to rule implied absolute submission on the part of the people, and their welfare was only secondary to the ambition and glory of the ruler. The eastern monarchs were absolute despots, and history gives us some hints of the bloody work of Sesostris, Cambyses, Xerxes, and others. They looked upon the people as dumb animals, simply designed to minister to their wants. Among the early Greeks and Romans, where the science of government was better understood, liberty dawned, and there was much progress in the direction of a true civilization. But the dreadful law of retrogression was too powerful; and it completely swept away for a time all that had been accomplished by the liberty-loving Greeks and Romans.

The most interesting nation upon the continent of Europe to study on the progress of the science of government is the French. Their progress since the days of Henry IV. has indeed been great. They were ground to the very dust by the absolutism of Louis XIV., and when the reaction came and they realized that the authority was in their own hands it almost drove them into frenzy. While the military despotism of Napoleon and the after restoration of the old monarchy crushed for a time the virgin goddess of liberty, it was only for a time, as the people soon again began to assert their rights. The Bourbons were driven from the throne, and Louis Philippe, a liberal king, was placed upon the throne of France. This was progress in the right direction, and it prepared the way for the establishment of another republic. This republic was overthrown by Louis Napoleon, who was a traitor, for he claimed to be the greatest republican in France. He made himself emperor by wholesale assassination, and deservedly met his fate in the Franco-Prussian War. After the removal of this tyrant, the present republic was

established, which seems to be permanent. France has had a bloody history, but political evolution points to a brighter period for that beautiful country.

The House of Stuart in England strongly advocated the diabolical fiction of the divine right of kings. As a rule, their conduct had been such that they could not command the respect, much less the love, of the English people. Charles I. insisted upon his divine right to rule as he pleased, and felt very indignant that any should question this right. The Puritans had no respect whatever for this claim, and they had so increased that they were prepared to assert their rights. The great conflict came, and puritanism triumphed. Cromwell was one of the greatest leaders and soldiers that ever buckled on sword, and the Puritan army was triumphant everywhere. Cromwell stands among the greatest soldiers and statesmen of all time. In the field he never encountered an army which he did not destroy, and he raised England in a few years from the contemptible position to which the Stuarts had reduced it to be the dread of all the papal powers of Europe.

When the people saw that the head of Charles rolled on the block without any convulsion of nature, and that England had greater prosperity and her name more respected under the lord protector than under Charles, they began to be skeptical of the old superstition about the divine right of kings. Although the Stuarts were for a time restored, the people could not long stand the dissolute Charles II. or the tyrannical James II. The English had learned too much about liberty to tolerate tyrants, and they disposed forever of the Stuarts, and placed upon the throne a house which was willing to acknowledge the authority of Parliament. It is not now the king, but Parliament, that is considered omnipotent in England, and an English sovereign can only be successful by fully acknowledging the authority of Parliament.

The political troubles in England drove many of the Puritans to the wilds of the West, and caused them to establish in the New World the greatest republic the world has ever known. The American Republic was not an invention, but the result of

progress in the science of politics. In this progress the church wielded a powerful influence. The church government of the Puritans was a pure democracy, and one man's vote counted as much as any other man's vote. The colonists managed their secular affairs in the same way as they did their religious. With them civil equality was a cardinal principle, and all had the right to be heard in making and enforcing the laws. De Tocqueville thus speaks of them:

> In New England political life had its origin in the township, and it may almost be said that each of them originally formed an independent nation. When the kings of England afterwards asserted their supremacy, they were content to assume the central power of the state. They left the townships where they were before, and although they are now subject to the state, they were not at first, or hardly so. They did not receive their powers from the central authority, but, on the contrary, they gave up a portion of their independence to the state. This is an important distinction, and one which the reader must constantly recollect. The townships are generally subordinate to the state only in those interests which I shall term social, as they are common to all the others. They are independent in all that concerns themselves, and among the inhabitants of New England I believe there is not a man to be found who would acknowledge that the state has any right to interfere with their own affairs. The towns of New England buy and sell, prosecute or are indicted, augment or diminish their rates, and no administrative power thinks of offering any opposition.

3. It is interesting to the American student of political science to observe the evolution of republican institutions as they appear upon the pages of history. It has been claimed by some that a republican form of government is peculiar to the Aryan race, and that the tendency of the Semetic and other races has been toward a despotic form of government. There is, doubtless, truth in this statement, but there are certainly some important exceptions. The government established by Moses for Israel was essentially republican. It was a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. This republic contained the twelve united states of Israel and was organized on the principle of universal suffrage. This federated nation of Israel had its organic law, a written constitution, and a wise and humane form of government.

Aristotle gives quite an interesting description of the Cartha-

ginian constitution. In many respects he highly praises it. The Carthaginian Republic was founded by liberty-loving refugees from ancient Tyre. Five centuries before the Christian era the republic of Carthage was in a flourishing condition, under rulers selected from among the people, and by the people. When the conflict between Rome and Carthage commenced, Carthage, in many respects, had the advantage. Rome had an army, but Carthage had both army and navy. The commerce of the sea was controlled by Carthage, and she had become rich by the spoils of the East. She pushed her armies into Italy, and often struck terror to the Roman heart. Hannibal was in Italy seventeen years, and was nearly always victorious in his battles. He is now considered by historians the greatest general in ancient times, and is only to be considered in modern times in comparison with the first Napoleon. While Carthage was an aristocratic republic in the days of Hannibal, she was quite democratic in her tendency. What Carthage might have become had it not been for war, it is difficult to say; but her civilization was completely overthrown by the great armies of Rome. Macaulay thus expresses the feeling of posterity:

> Delenda est Carthago! let the tear
> Still drop, deserted Carthage, on thy bier;
> Let mighty nations pause as they survey
> The world's great empires crumbled to decay;
> And hushing every rising tone of pride,
> Deep in the heart this moral lesson hide,
> Which speaks in a hollow voice as from the dead,
> Of beauty faded and of glory fled—
> Delenda est Carthago.

Ancient Greece made wonderful progress in the development of free institutions. The Athenian democracy was established by a branch of the great Aryan race, and in many respects its career was the most brilliant of any nation of antiquity. Athens was the queen of Greece and delightfully located. In the age of Thucydides she had risen to such a degree of political importance that she exercised a kind of sovereignty over Greece, and became the center of the highest culture of antiquity. Her great conflict, however, with Sparta, destroyed her prestige, and

she was unable again to reach the splendor of the past. Still, Athens has been a teacher to all succeeding civilized nations in the science of politics, as well as in almost everything else that pertains to a high civilization.

The Romans were of the same race as the Greeks, and established a republic, which conquered nearly all the nations of the ancient world. The republic lasted five hundred years, and Rome's greatest conquests were accomplished in the days of the republic. The early Romans were truly patriotic, and would not permit even life to get between them and their duty to their country. Their women were domestic, and even their greatest warriors did not hesitate to cultivate the soil. It does look as though if any government could be permanent, the Roman would. The Romans evidently believed that their government would be eternal, and inscribed this belief over their public gates. While deteriorating tendencies finally overthrew Roman institutions, still Rome has given law to nearly all the great modern nations, and her great influence will evidently continue till the end of the world.

The republic of the United Netherlands affords a subject for serious study for all students of the science of civil government. No people ever had a greater struggle for liberty than did the inhabitants of the United Provinces. The king of Spain planted among them the Inquisition, and determined to subdue them to the Roman see. The conflict was long and bloody, but Holland finally triumphed, and in 1648 the great powers of Europe acknowledged the independence of the republic of the United Netherlands. Her struggles had made her people patriotic, and her prosperity for more than a hundred years had scarcely been equalled by another modern state. She crushed the Spaniards, did much to humble Louis XIV., and even made the English nation tremble. She was mistress of the sea, swept the English Channel of all opposers, and blockaded the port of London. In art and science, and particularly in painting, she attracted the admiration of the world. Holland, while not strong at present, has certainly done much to advance free institutions and has played her part well in the history of modern Europe.

The United States has gone beyond all other nations in establishing the representative system. In this the fathers of our government showed great political insight. Rome knew nothing more than to transplant the great city into all the provinces, and there were little Romes in all parts of the civilized world. If Rome had understood the federal system, it is difficult to say what might have been the future history of the race. The wise balance in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of government is a strong point in favor of American progress. We still have our drawbacks, but are moving onward. We have been greatly plundered by the ruinous principle that "to the victors belong the spoils"; but the American conscience will not bear much longer with such corruption. Much has been said about the corruption of the ballot-box in American politics. This has evidently been a serious evil, but we now have evidence that reformation is at hand. Some of the states that have adopted the Australian method have not found it entirely satisfactory, but it is progress in the right direction.

Some have feared that the departments of government would be united in the hands of some great warrior, and that our republic would be overthrown as have many of the republics of the past. It may be that we have made some mistakes in that direction. There was certainly no good reason why General Grant, who was a successful soldier, should be made president of the republic; for he had given no evidence of statesmanship, and was inexperienced in the science of politics. General Taylor was made president for having gained a victory over the half-civilized Mexicans. These men were evidently good patriots and made very good presidents, but I speak of the dangerous principle of placing a great soldier at the head of civil government. I think that in our progress we have largely passed the point of danger from warrior presidents. We also have great security in the fact that the departments of government are so accurately determined that the establishment of tyranny appears to be quite impossible.

J. W. LOWBER.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

BY ALICE L. WOODBRIDGE.*

THERE is no doubt that the most important question of all ages has been the industrial question. It is a question as old as the human race, and upon it has depended the growth and prosperity of all nations. Only those who have read with impartiality the history of the different nations of the world can realize fully how closely associated with, indeed, how altogether dependent upon, the condition of the toiling masses has each nation been for its prosperity; that as long as the working class of any country received a fair share of the products of industry, that country prospered, but that as soon as the employing class began to infringe upon the rights of the workers, just so soon the dissolution of the nation began.

In every stage of the world's history there have existed men and women whose ideas have been far in advance of that age. We speak of them as men and women born before their time; they are really those who have, through practical experience or superior intelligence, been able to foretell the results of existing conditions of society and to prescribe practical methods of improving these conditions. They are men and women who have recognized that deep underlying principle upon which all human happiness depends, that of the mutual interests of humanity; that "an injury to one individual is the concern of all." Such have been all advanced thinkers, the great moral leaders of the world from Moses and the prophets down to our own Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Garrison, and such were the founders of the labor movement in this country.

The organization of labor in America dates as far back as 1741, perhaps even earlier than that date, but the event which brought it into prominence in this century was the invention of

* Secretary Working Women's Society.

labor-saving machinery, and it is because of the important position which machinery holds in industries, more than for any other reason, that the toilers have been aroused to the need of organization.

It is unquestionable that the inventive genius of mankind is God-given, and that as such it should be used for the best interests of humanity; that it has failed to become a benefit to the vast majority must be evident to all who have carefully considered the subject. As a nation we have welcomed the advent of machinery and entirely ignored its effects upon the working people. Its invention has marked a new era in the industrial world, and, utterly regardless of the fact that social conditions depend always upon industrial conditions, we have brought into this era the customs of society which prevailed under a system of semi-barbarism, and are wasting our time, strength, and intellect in trying to maintain these customs under conditions utterly at variance with them.

It is impossible to realize fully the power of machinery to-day, but a few facts in regard to it may not be amiss. It has been ascertained that the displacement of hand-labor through the invention of the paper-cutting and drying machine is ninety per cent; through the invention of machinery used in the manufacture of wall-paper ninety out of every hundred persons were displaced; in the manufacture of rubber goods ninety-eight out of every hundred; that fifty per cent have been displaced in silk-weaving, ninety-four in silk-winding, ninety per cent in straw-sewing, fifty per cent in soap manufacture, and fifty per cent in the manufacture of woolen goods. One sewing machine run by foot power does the work of twelve hand-sewers, and is capable under steam pressure of doing double that amount. One type-setting machine does the work of five persons; a machine used in the manufacture of staves does the work of twenty-five hundred hand-workers. In 1880 machinery of the United States represented 3,500,000 horse-power and it required but 2,732,595 persons to operate it; if the work accomplished by machinery had been done by hand it would have required over 21,000,000 persons to perform it.

At present the machinery of the United States represents 28,000,000 hand-workers and would support a population of 140,000,000 persons. It would be reasonable to suppose that with such powers of production machinery would be run for a sufficient length of time to supply our present population of 65,000,000 with all the necessaries of life, but the average length of season during which machinery is employed is less than eight months yearly. With our present population our shoe factories do not produce sufficient to give each person one pair of shoes per year, yet a large percentage of the shoes manufactured are exported, and at the same time more are produced for our home market than are demanded. Our hat factories do not produce sufficient to supply each person with a hat, our clothing factories do not produce two suits per capita yearly, and probably two thirds of the population of the country do not have one half of their actual wants supplied. In 1892, with 65,000 factories in the state of New York, one person in every five received public or private charity, and in the United States there were over 4,000,000 idle men and women.

Now what is the reason for such conditions? There is but one answer; it is because we persist in pursuing a system of economy only justifiable in a country where the means of production are limited. It is because of the selfishness of the classes and the blind ignorance of the masses. Under the conditions which existed at the beginning of the century it was but natural that the machine should come into the control of the man having the most capital; he saw in the machine not a benefactor to the human race, but a means of producing more goods in less time. Although the employer took no thought for the effect of the machine upon labor, yet its invention did increase opportunities for labor for a time, so that more people were employed; but the increase of production naturally increased competition, and without taking into consideration the welfare of the working class, the employer realized only his own danger of decreased profits, and, placing his own interests above those of his employees, too ignorant to realize his dependence upon them for support, he preferred to reduce wages rather than profits. To

compensate for the loss to the family caused by reduction in the wages of the toiler, women and children were taken from the home and brought into competition with the natural bread-winner of the family. In 1880 there were in the United States 1,118,000 children employed at mechanical industries, and about the same number of idle men and women. This idle class simply became a menace to the workers and a burden to the taxpayers. Naturally enough, the great army of unemployed sought entrance into other industries, with the result that to-day we have a hundred applicants for every position offered, and each applicant is ready to underbid the other in wages.

Now while women and children have usurped the places of men in mechanical industries they have also accepted them at a reduced rate of wages, and it is for this reason that women and children are so generally employed. Nearly two fifths of the machinery of this country is operated by women and children and the average wages of all female workers is but $3.80 per week, the average wages of women employed by the week is $5.29, and of piece-workers is but $4.90 per week, while the average wages of men operatives is but $9.50 per week. Two fifths of the piece-workers of the country are women and children, and in every industry where women and children are employed exclusively, wages are lower and hours of labor longer. It is impossible for any man to support a family on $9.50 per week, or for any woman to obtain the necessities of life for $5.29 per week, and such wages are simply a menace to the prosperity of the country. The working class is the purchasing class, it is the consuming class, and upon it the manufacturer depends very largely for his market. One million idle men will ruin the prosperity of any nation and with four million idle, non-consuming men and women and nearly five million wage-earners who do not receive half enough to supply the bare necessities of life it cannot be expected that we shall continue a prosperous nation.

Through the invention of machinery and increased competition has arisen another difficulty which adds very materially to the burden of the toiler; this is the so-called simplification of

labor. Take, for instance, the shoe industry. Before the invention of the machinery now in use the hand-worker made the entire shoe; from heel to toe every stitch and nail was fixed by one hand; to-day each shoe goes through one hundred and thirty-six processes. Each operative does a certain part and learns to do no other part, and the fact that he who makes the heel never sees the toe necessitates that he shall be more accurate in his work than if he fitted each part to the other; a more rigid discipline prevails, more precise work is exacted, while the employee finds the occupation far more tedious and exhausting. Consequently the operative becomes incapacitated for further usefulness in industries at a much earlier age than did the hand-worker. At the same time the fact that the operative learns but one branch of the industry enables the manufacturer to produce more rapidly, and so reduces the number of working days, so that he is indeed a fortunate man who secures eight months' labor in a year.

Every day witnesses some new invention, the adaptation of some industry to mechanical processes, and in consequence to the toiler trades disaster is inevitable. Those who have spent years in learning some trade which requires skill and intelligence suddenly find themselves forced out of employment by the invention of a machine which a child can operate. Does it not seem strange that we do not find some means of overcoming these difficulties, some method of securing continuous prosperity to both employer and employee? There are several methods advocated. One is to destroy the machine, another is to restrict production, and yet another is to gain control of the machine rather than be controlled by it.

Few people would favor the destruction of the machine and if it was destroyed it would be to little purpose, for man is progressive and bound to continue inventions under all circumstances. Our trusts and monopolies are to-day pursuing the restrictive policy; they have gained control of, or weeded out, the small manufacturer and merchant, so that there is little fear of competition, and realizing that the working class is the purchasing class, they have restricted production to a degree which has

made the necessities of life scarce, and so enhanced prices that it takes a little more than the laborer receives for his wages to supply his barest necessities, thereby creating a debtor class which is entirely in their power. This is what the coal, oil, sugar, and other trusts have done and are doing; the coal trust decides just how much coal shall be mined, takes advantage of the thousands of idle men to mine it at a reduced rate of wages, mines considerably less than the people really need, and then shuts down its work until the necessity for coal has enhanced the price and placed the purchasing public more in its power. Now this restrictive policy cannot continue forever, because the time would come when the working or purchasing class would be without means of purchasing. Already men are hoarding their wealth because it cannot longer be invested with profit. As a result of our restrictive policy, although the wealth of this country is estimated at $66,000,000,000, three fourths of this wealth is in the hands of 31,000 people, that is, $49,500,000,000, leaving the remaining 64,000,000 persons to own one fourth or $16,500,000,000. The majority of the remaining 64,000,000 are deeply in debt and their debts are increasing every day. To-day we have 9,000,000 mortgaged homes in this country, and the evictions every year in New York City exceed those in Ireland. In a country containing 3,025,000 square miles, more than one fourth of the population live from two to seven stories above the surface of the earth, thousands of children are growing up in ignorance, deprived of all opportunities of mental, moral, and physical development; are deprived of home influence and made martyrs to our industrial conditions.

Now the founders of the labor movement contend that present conditions can be so changed that the entire population may be benefited and that although machinery has peopled our country with giants capable of performing tasks altogether beyond the power of human hands, yet these giants may be made to prove themselves benefactors of the human family. We contend that instead of restricting machinery and production we should increase production and consumption; that we should restrict the employment of children, thus creating

opportunities for employment to the adult worker, at the same time giving the children opportunities of development and of learning those higher methods of living which are essential to the prosperity of an advancing civilization; that the hours of labor should be reduced, thus affording opportunities for employment to those yet idle, and by thus creating a scarcity in the labor market the price of labor will be enhanced—that is, higher wages will be secured and the consuming power of the people will be increased. The day is yet far off when the working class will receive, even under the most improved conditions, more than is needed for actual necessities, and if the time should eventually come when there will be more produced than the people can consume, the hours of labor can again be reduced. The very fact of shorter hours means increased demands upon production; the workingman has time to learn higher methods of living, time to adapt himself to the conditions which a higher state of civilization will bring, time for pleasure, and this always means greater powers of consumption.

The toilers of the world are certainly entitled to the best the world can give, yet at present they are depriving themselves of all opportunities of mental, moral, and physical development, for which they will be held responsible if the Gospel be true, and at the same time they are encouraging selfishness and depriving their fellow creatures of the chance of existence. It is not to be wondered at that crime and immorality increase, for these are the only means of existence to many, and these conditions must exist until some efforts are made by the women of our country to overcome them. As long as women remain unorganized, as long as women accept lower wages than men, present conditions will exist, or worse will follow, and it is the duty of every intelligent woman to organize for the purpose of overcoming these difficulties. God has made man and woman coöperative, neither sex nor individual can exist or progress without the other. "An injury to one is the concern of all."

ALICE L. WOODBRIDGE.

"WOMAN'S NATURAL DEBARMENTS FROM POLITICAL SERVICE": A REPLY.

BY MRS. A. L. CORNWALL.

SIFTING out the arguments in this article,* I find three:

First, The majority of women do not want to vote.

Second, Women are physically disqualified from suffrage and official duties.

Third, There is plenty of philanthropic work open to women who have strength, leisure, and inclination.

These three points, with some side issues, make up the article. They are all old objections and have been stated and answered at least a thousand times. I do not hope to bring against them any new argument. Every mind, however, sees truth from a different standpoint, and variety in statement sometimes throws new light.

No proof of the first point is even attempted. The writer says she "firmly believes" it. But the faith of an advocate could hardly be considered evidence. I do not, by any means, admit its truth; but if it were proved beyond dispute it could not, in this case, be taken as an argument.

Suffrage is the cornerstone of our republic. It is one of those "inalienable rights" with which majorities have no right to interfere. The Constitution of the United States, in the first three words of its enacting clause, defines the recognized source of its authority. "We the people"—not we the delegates, not we the states, not we the landholders, not we the white men, not we the men, but "we the people do ordain and establish this Constitution." If the basis of our government is "the consent of the governed," women who obey the laws, pay taxes, create revenues, teach our future statesmen, and train our embryo men and women ought certainly to have a voice in public affairs.

---

* "Woman's Natural Debarments From Political Service," December, 1895.

The will of the majority has its limitations. Individual choice is the rule, legal compulsion the exception. Evidently the majority of men do not want to go to church; shall we have a constitutional provision that no man shall go to church?

It is by no means easy to know the real wants of women in this matter. Several years ago equal suffrage was under discussion in our state. A canvass of one voting precinct showed about an equal division on the subject. Shortly after the canvass, at a school election, there was a close contest on one director. The anti-suffrage men spent the entire afternoon bringing the anti-suffrage women to the polls. Every legally qualified woman in the district voted except one. That one grew up a woman's suffragist. Her father was of that mind too and her grandfather. She stayed at home to mind her grandchildren so that her daughters could go and vote.

Sometimes a man will misjudge his own wife. I knew a Presbyterian clergyman who made a speech against suffrage in Good Templars' Lodge. He closed by saying: "I have, however, no personal interest in the matter; my wife would never think of voting." "On the contrary," said his wife, rising, "I would vote if I could. I should consider it my duty." The clergyman was a fair-minded man, he saw the point. "I withdraw all objections," he said, "I would not, for a moment, stand in the way of a conscientious discharge of duty."

There is one very easy and practical way to settle this matter. That is to take away all legal restrictions and allow it to adjust itself. There is no compulsion proposed. If women vote, the argument fails. If they do not, no harm is done. It is noticeable that in states where women have even limited suffrage, this objection is a "spent ball."

On the second point, I readily admit that women in the physical condition described in this article are not fit for public life. Nor are they fit for private life. Least of all are they fit for wifely or maternal duties. Women subject to "acute suffering" which "disturbs their nerve centers, depresses their spirits, and lowers their vitality," women afflicted with "hysteria," causing "all manner of mental vagaries, whims, fancies, and

ailments, real and imaginary," are certainly unfit to be mothers.

Maternity, under such conditions, not only involves a cruel sacrifice of womanhood ; but children have rights as well as men and women. The first right of every child is to be born to a heritage of physical vigor, fair intelligence, and clean morality.

If law is to be invoked for protection this is the place to begin. Let it require a full development of health, intellect, and purity as qualifications for marriage, and be sure that the lines are as sharply drawn for one sex as the other. Children inherit from fathers as well as mothers. No dissolute or unprincipled man has any right to bequeath his infirmities to posterity.

But, suppose healthy, happy children have been born and nurtured in a good home, what is to be done through the long years of "the dreaded change"? Women in a state of health which makes them "nervous, irritable, capricious, unreasoning creatures," women "subject to all manner of delusions and physical miseries" surely ought not to be suffered to run the complicated affairs of a household, or manage a family of growing boys and girls. Sometimes a gentle, refined, motherly "old maid" has made unrecorded sacrifices that she might fill these interims of disability. Such a service could not, however, be expected or desired from "crotchety, irritable, thorny, cranky women bachelors."

I agree that children should not be left to the care of hirelings. God gives a child to its father and mother, not to a servant girl or a housekeeper. When a father is disabled, the mother steps quietly and cheerfully into the vacant place and carries the double burden. Why should not a father do the same? This is an emergency which will test the superior strength of manhood. He will probably find out that "The governing mind should be clear—the governing hand should be steady and strong—the governing heart should be courageous, just, and true." And he will learn a number of other things that may have a salutary effect on himself and the boys of the next generation.

This work, although it would not, necessarily, shut men off from voting, or the ordinary duties of citizenship, would preclude engrossing official duties for a term of years. But, "it is

Digitized by Google

hands and equalize burdens. The relieved housemother could take time to be well; to bring up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to let her home light shine out into darkened ways and city streets, legislative halls and courts of justice, that the world may be made a cleaner, safer place in which to live.

As to the third and last point, the worst of it is, there is not only plenty of charitable and reformatory work on hand, but it is all the time growing and multiplying. It is better to pay for the ounce of prevention than the pound of cure. Those who have, long and tirelessly, labored for the unfortunate and the sinful have learned the hopelessness of the unequal struggle.

God said "It is not good for man to be alone." The work in which men and women are divorced always lacks something of strength and completeness. We are in the throes of a fierce war between good and evil forces. We cannot afford to dispense with any effective weapon. A great fund of moral and spiritual power is lying unused in the hearts of Christian women. We propose to put the ballot into the hands of those whose devotion to the home and its interests is the most unchangeable thing that God has made.

A. L. CORNWALL.

THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

BY T. CARLETON L. KETCHUM.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD died immediately after a general election in Canada. Sir John Thompson died on the eve of an election. At the time of the latter premier's death Conservative and Liberal leaders were flying hither and thither, making speeches and expounding the policies of the parties which they represent. It has come, in Canada, so that no man knows the day or hour that an election may come on. Take the present time for illustration. A Canadian Parliament is allowed a life of five years. But the governor-general may dissolve the House at any time he thinks fit. He is supposed to take the advice of his prime minister, unless in his opinion the advice of his prime minister is opposed to his own good sense. For some years past the elections for the Dominion Parliament have been conducted under a Dominion Franchise Act. That is, an act was passed several years ago making a franchise for elections for the Dominion Parliament solely. Prior to that the same electoral lists that are used in each province for the provincial elections were also used in elections for the federal Parliament.

The passage of this act was a questionable piece of legislation. It has turned out to be a very costly process, and the absolute need of it is not by any means clear. So costly is the revision of the voters' lists under this act that the yearly revision has been dispensed with. This year, however, the lists are being revised, and this fact, taken with the fact that Parliament has had four sessions, and that cabinet ministers are doing a good deal of electioneering, is a sure indication that an election is close at hand. A session of Parliament is generally held early in the year, beginning the latter part of January or early in February.

The revision of the voters' lists will not be complete until

March next, at the earliest. There will, therefore, either be another session of Parliament, and an election immediately afterward, or there may be no session and an election in March. It is doubtful if the death of Sir John Thompson will affect matters much, as far as the date of the election is concerned, one way or the other. In spite of his great ability and high character, there were those of his party who questioned his suitability for the position of leader, during a fight for the treasury benches. He was a Roman Catholic, and the Orange order is a big factor in the Conservative party.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the new leader of the party, is an Orangeman, though not one of the Colonel Sanderson stripe. Sir John Macdonald, it may be remembered, was also an Orangeman, but that did not affect his popularity in Quebec. Sir Mackenzie, being a moderate Orangeman, may still count on the support of the bulk of the Conservatives in the French Province.

The issues between the two parties are very much as the issues between the Republicans and Democrats in the United States. A high tariff based on the protection idea was instituted in 1878, and has held the boards ever since. Of course many industries were started on the strength of the high duties, and have thrived with the assistance of protection. Their promoters have become rich, and becoming rich, have also become influential. They have no wish that their protection shall be withdrawn, or even reduced. The government extended protection to them when they were young and weak; now that they are full grown and strong, they demand a continuance of the coddling. And the government is very considerate of such peremptory demands. The attempt at tariff reform last session was naturally a fiasco. With, possibly, the best intentions in the world, the government simply found that it could not carry such a measure without sacrificing the support of the protected parties. And it was not to be led into doing anything so suicidal as that. Sir Robert Peels are not for every country or for every generation. So the government stands committed to the policy of protection, for protection's sake, or more truthfully speaking, for the manufac-

turers' sake. Indeed, the *principle* of protection is the pivot, according to the finance minister, on which the government policy swings. This, of course, makes the government *solid* in the larger cities, especially Montreal and Toronto. The abominable system of "election funds," ostensibly for legitimate expenses, but really for the purpose of bribery and corruption, obtains and is tacitly agreed to by both parties. The Liberals proclaim a certain abhorrence of the system, but a late Liberal leader in Quebec politics out-toried the Tories in his election fund operations.

At a convention in Ottawa last June the Liberals laid down the platform of a tariff for revenue only. During the last few years they had not been successful with their battle cries. Commercial union with the United States, or, as it was craftily called, "unrestricted reciprocity," was generally unpopular in the Dominion, and, although the people of the country would not have been averse to a change of government, the late Sir John Macdonald waved "the old flag" so effectually that the Opposition's opportunity was lost. A number of bye-elections held in 1892 strengthened the hands of the government, and it has not lost ground, perceptibly, except in the Winnipeg election, to the present day.

A general election will be held within six months, undoubtedly. The result is, of course, in question, but few students of politics in the Dominion will be surprised if the Liberals are returned to power. It is all buncombe about the Conservatives being the loyal party and the Liberals the disloyal party. In the ranks of the latter are the descendants of the old anti-confederation Tories, who opposed confederation because they feared it would militate against British connection. The support of this element in the party is absolutely necessary for its triumph in the elections this year. The party at the last general election made the mistake of estranging these of its supporters. It will not be foolish enough to repeat the mistake. Many Conservatives are deeply disappointed at the failure of the government to carry tariff reform last year. They were willing to accept protection as a temporary expedient, but not

as a continuous policy. The Liberals will get a certain support from this quarter. Mr. Fielding, the premier of the province of Nova Scotia, who will contest a constituency for election to the Dominion Parliament, has been stumping the Maritime Provinces lately. He made a special plea to the dissatisfied Conservatives, or "mugwumps." The independent element is growing in Canada, as in England, and in the United States, and the party whip, to a great extent, fails to inspire the terror which it used to.

Since I began this article the chances of a session being held before the election have increased. The chief government whip, who should know, says a session will be held. Much may occur during the session to affect one party or the other. Americans who are interested in Canadian politics may take one thing for granted. Just as the Democratic party, the exponent of free trade principles, was found to contain a strong protectionist element, so the Liberal party of Canada will find that it will have a similar element to deal with if it acquires power this year. In such a case there will be undoubtedly a readjustment of the tariff in the direction of reduced duties, but the needs of revenue will demand that much must be raised by customs, and, while the protective "principle" may be eliminated, protection to a modified extent, anyway, will be the order of the day.

The old parties have a new element to wrestle with which they have not had to meet before. It is the Patrons of Industry, an order or party not altogether unlike the Populist party in the United States. The Patrons are well organized in Ontario, and have a newspaper of their own with a large circulation. They have over a dozen representatives in the legislature of Ontario, where they practically hold the balance of power. They are pledged to remain aloof of either of the old parties. To be sure, many of the planks of their platform are similar to planks in the Liberal platform, such as tariff for revenue only, reciprocity, as far as possible, with the United States. They advocate the abolition of the Senate, while the Liberals promise reform of that body.

On the other hand, the Patrons stand for the continuance of British connection, while the younger element in the Liberal party has aspirations toward independence. The Patrons are extending their sphere of action beyond Ontario, their original stronghold, and if they remain as compact and as independent as they now are, their influence in the next Parliament must be considerable. The party now in office has been in power since 1878—going on to twenty years. But, while the Conservatives have been this length of time the occupants of the treasury benches at Ottawa, the Liberals have controlled the provincial legislatures. Quebec, it is true, has now a Conservative local administration, but this was a recent change, and made under extraordinary conditions. The independents in Canada are inclined to think that on general principles a change at Ottawa would not be amiss, but they are held somewhat in check from giving expression to their opinions by reason of the preponderance of Liberal politicians in the provincial governments. The Canadian "mugwumps" are not blind to the faults and failings of either of the two contesting parties.

T. CARLETON L. KETCHUM.

INTERNATIONAL LAW—DUTY OF NEUTRAL NATIONS.*

BY JOHN GIBBONS, LL.D.

INTERNATIONAL law is the world's great legal fiction. No congress of nations ever enacted it. There is no tribunal with authority and jurisdiction to enforce it. That which has been dignified with the appellation international law has ever been in fact that course of international conduct which power prescribed and might made right. While it purports to be founded upon the principles of natural justice, yet the interpretation and application of those principles as regulating and defining the conduct and policy of nations with each other were inspired and adopted by the desire of the stronger to maintain their supremacy as well as through a fear of each other. Thus the institution (if it may be so termed) of international law became, as it were, the means preservative of the balance of power among nations. International law has been defined as the rules of conduct regulating the intercourse of nations. Among these there is no one that has been more explicitly announced or implicitly accepted in theory than this, that nations are equal in respect to each other and entitled to equal consideration for their rights, irrespective of their size or strength, or however different they may be in government, religion, or customs. And yet how often this rule has been flagrantly violated by all of the nations of the world! As a necessary consequence of this equality it follows that no state has the right to take cognizance of what passes in another state between the government and its own subjects.

Vattel, in discussing how far it may be lawful to interfere in a quarrel between a sovereign and his subjects, says that if a ruler, by his violations of fundamental laws, gives his people a legal right to resist him, every foreign power has a right to aid and

* *Chicago Law Journal*, October, 1895.

oppress people asking their assistance. And he lays down the rule that when a country is divided by civil war a foreign power may assist those whose course it deems just. While Grotius contented himself with declaring that it is the duty of a foreign state "to do nothing which may strengthen the cause or impede the motions of him who is carrying on a just war," and that it may be well for a neutral nation to make a convention with each of the belligerents, so that with the good-will of both it may abstain from war and extend to both the courtesies and commodities of humanity, and he quotes with approval the sententious advice of Archidamus to the Eleans, who were disposed to take sides in a civil war of the Æolians: "It is well to be quiet."

Vattel, however, announces a rule directly contrary to the one above quoted when he says: "It belongs not to foreign nations to judge between the citizens whom discord has roused to arms, nor between the prince and his subjects; both parties are equally foreigners to them, and equally independent of their authority," and that their good offices should be confined to efforts to restore peace, which the law of nations makes their duty. This by the legists is accepted as the correct rule. But nations recognize or ignore it, make it to their interest or injury.

The right of one state to interfere in the internal affairs of another was never questioned by the Greeks, and the Romans lost no opportunity to extend their conquests and dominion through espousal of the cause of any one of the contending factions of a foreign state. Modern history furnishes abundant examples of unwarrantable violations of the equality and independence of nations. These it is not necesssary to cite. They readily occur to the student of public affairs. Besides, the limit of this writing forbids.

DOCTRINE GENERALLY ACCEPTED.

It is a very grave question whether, and how far, and when a nation has the right to aid the people of another who have rebelled and seek that aid. It is the generally accepted doctrine, as laid down by authorities on international law, that where a

state of war exists between the people of a province and their government, a foreign power should either remain a passive spectator or, if diplomatic intercourse be deemed advisable with those in revolt, it should be only in reference to foreign relations, and not to domestic affairs; or both belligerents should be permitted the free and impartial exercise of those rights which war gives to public enemies against each other. But when a people seeking to free themselves from the oppressions of their government by armed force implore assistance from a foreign state, do these rules obtain?

It may be in place to observe that each neutral nation must judge for itself as to when organized armed resistance of another people against their government has attained the proportions of a *de facto* government, as when this condition is held to exist it is admissible under the rules above noted for foreign powers to accord to those in revolt the rights of belligerents. This does not involve the determination of the question of right between the present government and its revolting subjects, as the neutral is required under the law of nations to furnish no aid to one party which it is not equally ready to furnish to the other.

At what stage of a revolt it can be said that a neutral nation is justified in according to those revolting the rights of belligerents, or in recognizing the existence of a *de facto* government, is wholly within the province of each individual nation to determine. And so it is left entirely with each nation to decide for itself whether and when it shall interfere or interpose between the parties waging war against each other in another state. That each nation has an undoubted right to provide for its own safety and to take due precaution against distant as well as impending danger is well recognized. In 1821 the British government officially announced (see Lord Castlereagh's circular dispatch, January 19, 1821) to the allied powers that no government was more prepared than theirs to uphold the right of any state or states, to interpose where their own security or essential interests were seriously endangered by the international transactions of another state; that the assumption of a right was only to be adjusted by the strongest necessity, and to be limited and

controlled thereby ; that it could not receive a general and discriminate application to all revolutionary movements without reference to their immediate bearing upon some particular state or states ; that its exercise was an exception to general principles of the greatest value and importance, and as one that only properly grows out of the circumstances of the special case, and exceptions of this description could never without the utmost danger be so far reduced to rule as to be incorporated into the diplomacy of states or into the institutions of the law of nations. That such interference may extend even to assistance to insurgents under certain conditions is declared by the writers and practiced by all the great nations. However, such assistance, it is maintained, should be restricted to extreme cases, as where those in authority in a state have flagrantly violated the principles of civil compact, thus giving their aggrieved subjects just reason to feel and act as though they were discharged from all allegiance.

SOME WELL-KNOWN INSTANCES.

The most noted instance usually cited as an illustration of a justifiable interference is that of the Prince of Orange, who aided the English people in their revolt against James II. The peculiar conditions of each case must determine the right or duty of interference, principles of equity and wise policy controlling. Unquestionably, it would be violative of international law, as such, for one nation to incite insurrection and encourage revolt among the citizens of another who are living peacefully and obediently under the laws of their government, although such laws might be unjust and the enforcement of them cruel and oppressive.

The action of England in assisting the United Netherlands in their struggle against Spain, and that of France in giving assistance to the colonies during the Revolution, are regarded as unexceptionable precedents of justifiable interference, grounded in highest wisdom and soundest policy. Such interference or recognition is said to be decidedly justifiable when the revolted people have actually established a quasi-government, displayed

the ability and means to warrant a confidence in their stability. This construction, of course, virtually ignores the cause, whether just or unjust, of the revolt. In 1822 our government exercised this right in its own way in recognizing the South American states that revolted against Spanish misrule after they had demonstrated sufficient strength and stability to endow them with the character and dignity of independent states. It was the unvarying policy of this country to remain neutral during the existence of civil war between Spain and her colonies in South America prior to the recognition of the independence of any one of her colonies, and to accord to each party to the war all the rights of belligerents, and that each was alike entitled to all the privileges and courtesies incident to neutral relations and obligations, and to all the rights of war as against each other.

The Supreme Court of the United States has based its decisions upon this policy of the government, and thus it has, with us at least, become recognized as a principle of international law. A clear-cut enunciation of this doctrine is found in Walley *vs.* Schooner Liberty, 12 La. R. 98:

> The uniform policy and practice of the United States as declared by President Jackson in his message to Congress on December 21, 1836, is to avoid all interference in disputes which merely relate to the international government of other nations, and eventually to recognize the authority of the prevailing party without reference to the merits of the original controversy. All questions relative to the government of foreign nations, whether of the Old or the New World, have been treated by the United States as questions of fact only, and they have cautiously abstained from deciding upon them until the clearest evidence was in their possession, to enable them to decide correctly.

MUST WAIT FOR CONGRESS TO ACT.

It is peculiarly within the province of Congress to recognize as belligerents a people in revolt, or their independence, and until such recognition is announced through the proper channels, the citizens of this country and the courts must act and decide as though the ancient order of things was undisputed. When insurgents seize and hold in a hostile manner a certain portion of territory, declare their independence, throw off

allegiance, organize armed forces, wage war against their former rulers, the nations of the world are wont to recognize them as belligerents, and the contest is no longer insurrection, but "war."

The parties to a civil war are entitled to consideration as belligerents, and civil war exists when the regular course of justice is interfered with, so that the courts cannot be kept open for the administration of law. While internal dissensions in a state amount only to insurrection, another state can have no concern in the strife between the parties involved; but when the insurrection assumes the magnitude of a revolution, and the existence of the conditions above noted attaches to each of the parties the character of belligerents, then the contest is brought under the law of nations. While each belligerent can determine for himself what is necessary to attain the ultimate object for which he is contending, yet, if in seeking to accomplish that end he offends against the accepted laws of nations, he must answer in his political capacity to other nations, and if he goes beyond the bounds which limit the conduct of belligerents in legitimate warfare, other nations may enter the conflict against him. And, on the other hand, the recognition of combatants as belligerents imposes certain imperative duties upon other nations, the paramount one being in maintaining a firm and scrupulously impartial neutrality.

DUTY OF NEUTRAL NATIONS.

The obligation of impartiality extends to prohibiting the use of neutral territory for the purpose of fitting out warlike expeditions, equipping vessels, and enlisting men. The rigid duty of neutral nations in this respect was first recognized and enforced by the United States, long the chief representative and champion of natural rights and human progress. An act of Congress, passed in 1794, amended and reënacted in 1818, makes it a high misdemeanor for any person within the jurisdiction of the United States to augment the force of any armed vessel belonging to one foreign power at war with another power with whom they are at peace, or to prepare any military

expedition against the territories of any foreign nations when they are at peace, or to hire or enlist troops or seamen, for foreign military or naval service, or to be concerned in fitting out any vessel to cruise or commit hostilities in foreign service.

The purely international obligations of the belligerents have been recently the subject of protracted discussions between England and America, arising out of the depredations committed by confederate cruisers on American commerce. The treaty of Washington, 1871, by which all these questions were referred to arbitration, directed the arbitrators to apply to them, not only the rules of the law of nations, but three new rules, which England, at least, could not admit as being in force when the claims arose, but which she acceded to as an evidence of her desire to strengthen friendly relations with the United States: (1) To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable grounds of belief was intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise, or to carry on war as above, such vessel having been adapted in whole or in part within such jurisdiction to warlike use. (2) Not to permit or to suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruiting of men. (3) To exercise due diligence in its own forts and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties. Since which time England has tried to discredit, if not to repudiate them, but they are binding upon the United States, and the government must adhere to and enforce them in good faith.

MORAL ASPECT OF THE CASE.

Subjecting the present condition of affairs in Cuba, together with the inter-relations existing between the United States and Spain, to the foregoing observations, it must be admitted that until this government, therefore, recognizes the existence of civil

war in Cuba, and extends to the revolutionists the rights of belligerents, the American people must content themselves with voicing their barren sympathy through public meetings, and adopting rhetorical resolutions, like one sympathizing with the starving, but withholding food.

Selfish interests have ever induced nations to find a legal pretext for extending aid to one or the other combatant. If a nation is justified in interfering with the internal affairs of another nation on the ground of humanity in fostering and extending the doctrines of the Christian religion, a position which I deny most emphatically, the dictates of humanity should appeal most strongly to the United States to interfere in behalf of the Cubans, if half of what is said be true in respect to the mode of warfare there conducted by the Spaniards. In the public press it is asserted that from the penal colonies in southern Spain a battalion of criminals has been organized and placed under the command of Colonel Garrido, who butchered the sick insurgents some weeks ago. The battalion is known as the "Squadron of Death," a soubriquet gruesomely gained by the slaughter of women and children, as well as of the inmates of hospitals.

The revolt of the Cubans is not merely a temporary uprising against the law, but is a determined protest against the misgovernment and tyranny of a foreign power, that assumes to control the destinies of the island. The insurgents have held out for several months, and have justified the belief that their cause is just and that they will ultimately prevail.

HUMANITY DEMANDS RECOGNITION.

Upon the score of humanity, therefore, aside from the fact that the American government is interested from a commercial standpoint, the United States ought to interfere and extend to the insurgents in Cuba all the rights of belligerents. The insurgents are reported to have possession of two thirds of the island and 30,000 soldiers in the field. The government has but 50,000 troops, and they are practically forced to act on the defensive, as they are principally penned up in the fortified cities and towns. As a matter of fact, every Cuban is a rebel at

heart against Spanish misrule, and a majority of the people are Cubans.

The commercial and industrial interests of the island are inseparably connected with those of the other American republics. And instead of the Queen of the Antilles being a subject of the decrepit laggard of Old World monarchies, she should belong to our own peerless sisterhood of sovereign states. The Cubans are making a death struggle for self-government—the righteous principle which is the base and building of our republic. It is not only the right, but it is the absolute duty of our government to render every assistance necessary to compass the end sought. There are times and conditions which not only justify, but demand action on the part of nations which is above and beyond all law. Such a crisis in 1776 found France equal to the emergency, and she stopped not to question the international embroilments possible upon her giving aid to America. Her action was wholly outside of the domain of international law, but is now admitted to have been dictated by the highest humanity, and founded upon the soundest policy.

The United States has a duty to perform as the leading republic of the world. That duty is to aid all peoples seeking rightfully to establish a government modeled after her own. Should such action on her part contravene the accepted laws of nations, let her by her own high heroic action repeal such as operate to perpetuate the rule of tyrants or shackle a people striving to become free. Upon the assembling of Congress in December, no time should be lost in adopting the necessary legislation recognizing the Cubans as belligerents. Neglect to do this would be a congressional blunder amounting to a national crime.

JOHN GIBBONS.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

THE AMERICAN GUARD MOVEMENT.—The fear that the spirit of militarism would be unduly promoted as the result of military drill on the part of boys in the public schools, as proposed by the projectors of the American Guard movement, is happily dissipated when their plans are made clear by practical illustrations of their workings. It is made evident by these illustrations that the military features of the work, while depended upon as a means of commanding the necessary interest and unity in endeavor, are wholly subordinate to the chief object of imparting such instruction in civics and patriotism as will prepare a foundation for intelligence, integrity, and loyal service in the peaceful walks of citizenship. There is no such magnification of the military features of the work as to beget an undue love for them! On the contrary, while these features are helpful in enlisting interest, beget respect for authority, and promote manliness in deportment, they also afford opportunity for giving to young Americans that adequate conception of the true importance of the different departments of the public service, which ought to be a part of the equipment for civic duty of every American. First of all, they are indoctrinated with the spirit of true Americanism, which will help to make unselfish, faithful, incorruptible, and useful citizens of all boys, whether native or foreign born. Added to this is the instruction in civics which is essential to the wise use of citizenship powers. There must be no fear of introducing anywhere methods of training for citizenship which possess the attractiveness for American youth, and which are so entirely beneficial in operation, as those which have been introduced by Professor Boyer, are so ably championed by Colonel Adams, and have been approved and adopted by the Institute of Civics, of which they are active and useful members.

The Institute will hereafter make the promotion of the American Guard movement a special feature of its regular work, under the personal direction of Col. Henry H. Adams, 177 Broadway, New York, who has accepted appointment as Director of Columbian Guard Instruction in Civics and Patriotism. Inquiries made at the above address will receive prompt attention.

COL. H. H. ADAMS, A. I. C., Columbian Guard Director of School Instruction in Civics and Patriotism, in a recent address before the Watertown, N. Y., public schools, relating to the results of the Guard plans of work, said:

"There is some misapprehension in regard to the application of the military drill as connected with the public schools. In point of fact, there is no military drill in the schools. I have never seen any drilling of the schoolboys in the schoolrooms. The system which obtains in the schools of New York provides that in assembling in the morning, the scholars march into the assembly room, according to the usual custom of nearly all public schools, in columns of twos, filling both wings of the auditorium or assembly room, and at a signal the wings 'inward face,' after which a color guard with the United States flag marches down the central aisle and halts, and at signal the whole school comes to a salute of the flag, after which the school is seated and the colors are placed on the platform, when the usual morning exercises take place.

"Ten minutes each day is usually given to physical development exercises, after the 'setting-up form.' This method is regarded by medical men of distinction as the best process of physical development now known outside of the gymnasium and is more effective than the old calisthenics which have been partially introduced in some of the schools of the country. This and no more is all that takes place in the schools connected with what is ordinarily termed as military drill in the public schools.

"In connection with this system civics, forms of municipal, state, and national government, in all the details connected therewith, are thoroughly taught. The scholar is taught the responsibility of citizenship, the necessity of a pure ballot from which is evolved a government of the people, for the people, by the people. He is also taught reverence for the flag, respect for authority, prompt obedience, and 'to do right because it is right.'

"The system does not in any way interfere with or take the place of any school work established under the ordinary curriculum which has hitherto been adopted and carried out by the public school system of the United States. It does not supplant or take the place of geography, arithmetic, philosophy, chemistry, or any other study which is a part of the established course of study.

"Outside of the school proper, it is optional with the members of the graduating grammar grades and the young men of the high school to organize companies, officered by their own members, for the purpose of self-development, improved school discipline, self-restraint, self-control, respect for authority, to acquire under skilled training a dignified bearing, an erect figure, fine carriage, cleanliness, and appreciation of wise leadership, *esprit de corps*, etc.

"These companies drill once per week entirely outside of school hours, and in no way connected with the school except under the counsel and advice of the principal, who usually acts as commandant.

"The non-commissioned and commissioned officers of the local national guards usually volunteer to instruct the school cadets in the manual of arms and company movements, etc., and the use of armories is usually accorded to the cadets for drill purposes, all of which is in charge of the national guard officers, which complies with the law.

"The companies are equipped with 'wig-wag' flags, dispatch bags, etc., and a well-organized system which usually accompanies the signal corps service.

"The uniforms cost $6.50, including coat, trousers, and cap. Two of these uniforms outwear three of the ordinary citizens' suits, and these uniforms are furnished by the cadets themselves. Up to the present time the system does not involve any expenditure on the part of the public money.

"The advanced grammar grades and the high school cadets are the only organizations that have been furnished arms. These cadet rifles are now loaned by the state to the several organizations requiring the same, a proper guarantee being given to the state for safe-keeping.

"Hundreds of letters are received from the patrons of the New York schools testifying to the good effect of the discipline under this system on the incorrigibles. The testimony is in effect that the boys are more readily submissive to home authority, more considerate of the sisters and the brothers in the home, and more self-respect and manliness are developed in the pupil. These communications are matter of record.

"In point of scholarship the records of the New York schools show that the pupils connected with the American Guard stand higher in scholarship than those who are not of the organization.

"The pupils who do not care to acquire the uniform throughout wear the cap only (which costs 50 cents), with the civilian suit. This department makes up 65 per cent of the organizations of New York City. They are equally well drilled and quite as efficient in all departments and apparently quite as happy as those of the uniformed guards.

"I have given you in brief the prominent features of the system now in operation in New York and in other parts of the country. When we consider that we are a cosmopolitan country and are daily receiving into our midst a large population made up of individuals who are entirely unfamiliar with our system of government, and who are unable in their ignorance to comprehend the principles which underlie a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, where a government is evolved only from a pure ballot, where the power lies in the hands of the people, it will at once appear that it is next to impossible to educate the adults who are thus flocking to our shores, and that we must of necessity look to the enlightenment and development of their children. The public schools of the United States are the bulwark of our safety, and through this channel we must build for the future. The census of 1890 shows that out of the 230,000 public schools of the United States, only 10,000 teach civics in any way.

"It goes without saying that the Anglo-Saxon is not a military man. He is averse to fighting, is peaceful in his disposition, and is only

drawn into war under compulsion. There is nothing in the influences at work in the United States that is likely to produce a warlike spirit. It was said during the war that the great armies engaged in the Civil War would never be able to adjust themselves to peaceful avocations and to go back again into a quiet, civil life. The return of the great army of the North in June of 1865 presents the grandest spectacle of the return of a victorious army, taking up the avocations of peace, of industry, and of domestic life, ever witnessed in the history of man. This great army, after the havoc and slaughter and carnage of the most deadly war on record, fresh from the victories of Petersburg, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and Appomattox, flushed with the glow of heroism and success, turned the wild and impassioned forces of the victorious army into the most marvelous development of industrial achievement ever before witnessed, and with the wealth of the country in 1860 estimated at $30,000,000,000, reduced by a cost of $16,000,000,000 to prosecute the war, they have, by their industry, in 30 years raised the wealth of the United States in 1890 to $70,000,000,000, making this country the richest of any nation in the world.

"The whole trend of the American people is to industry. The atmosphere of the home is filled with the spirit of thrift and desire for commercial development, and into this atmosphere the public schoolboy, at the average age of fourteen, plunges with all the ardor and devotion of his nature, and I think it is absurd to even suggest the dominancy of any kind of military spirit. The American boy needs to acquire self-respect, obedience, respect for others, regard for the law, and to know his responsibility as the coming citizen. And with these acquisitions he will take his place in his community honored and respected."

. . . .

CENTENARY WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL.—The suggestions relating to this important centenary are everywhere regarded with favor, as evidenced by letters bearing on the subject. One of the writers, Mr. J. J. Tinelli, Vallejo, Cal., in a letter to Gen. Horace Porter, says: "In perusing the New York *Herald*, I was greatly pleased to read the notice of the proposed observance of the Centenary of Washington's Farewell Address by representatives of the American Institute of Civics, and societies of a kindred nature. What a grand idea! What a patriotic lesson! Yes, let us carry it into our schools." Mr. Tinelli asks for helpful literature and programs which will aid him in carrying out the Institute's proposals in Vallejo.

Edward Payson Cone, of the Institute's general committee on the Centenary, has especially interested himself in the promotion of plans for its proper observance.

. . . .

REV. JOSIAH STRONG, D.D., A. I. C., secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, will send to any address copies of a leaflet in which the Alliance invites Christian citizens, as a part of the wish of local

alliances, to coöperate in their several localities in efforts for the promotion of law and order, and purity in civic life.

. . . .

PROF. W. H. GOODALE, of the chair of civics, Louisiana State University, recently addressed the young people of the Epworth League at their state convention in New Orleans on "Christian Citizenship," presenting what the *Daily Picayune* describes as an able and brilliant discussion of the subject.

. . . .

LUCIAN E. CARTER, St. Joseph, Mo., is taking an active interest in plans for the local observance of the Centenary of Washington's Farewell. Mr. Carter has in readiness for delivery an address on "The True Ideal of the American Home," and also on "Our Country, Our Flag, and Our Future." Through his suggestions, acting as a member of the Institute's National Committee of Councilors, Mr. Frank Siler made a very able patriotic address on Memorial Day before a large assembly in St. Joseph, on the subject suggested for the occasion by the Institute.

. . . .

CHARLES P. HARRIS, A. I. C., Rutland, Vt., is leading a crusade in favor of better politics inside of party lines. The *Rutland Times* suggests, in this connection, that the Vermont Legislature amend its election laws so as to insure the proper conduct of primary elections.

. . . .

MARGHERITA ARLINA HAMM, A. I. C., editor Woman's Department New York *Mail and Express*, recently delivered an address on the New York constitution before the New York Society for Political Study, several hundred women being present.

. . . .

HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER, Ph. D., A. I. C., New York State Superintendent of Public Schools, secured a very general observance of "Flag Day," June 14, by sending to all state school officers a letter in which he cordially commended such observance. Thus, he said, "reverence for our institutions will be impressed upon our school children, and through them upon the people of the state. Admiration for the flag need not imply military spirit, but rather love of country, obedience to law, patriotic devotion to our government, a generous desire for peace and good-will among all nations. Let the day be fittingly celebrated. Let our children be taught what the flag represents."

. . . .

A. D. GAINES, A. I. C., has charge of the department devoted to instruction in civics in the "Farmers' Boys' College" or State School of Agriculture, connected with the State University (of which Cyrus Northrop, LL.D., A. I. C., is president), and which is situated at St. Anthony Park, Minn.

. . . .

REV. JOHN BASCOM, D. D., A. I. C., is the recipient of the highest praise in connection with his *magnum opus*, entitled "Social Theory;

A Grouping of Social Facts and Principles." It is commended by eminent critics as one of the ablest recent books in the field of social studies.

. . . .

NO COLOR LINE IN GOOD CITIZENSHIP.—Edward Stephens, Topeka, Kansas, writes to the American Institute of Civics as follows: "Will you kindly tell me, 'a plain, blunt man,' a negro, if black persons are permitted to become members of your very worthy Institute? I have just read through your magazine and am much interested."

The prompt reply of Henry Randall Waite, president of the Institute, to this inquiry is as follows:

"The Institute of Civics is a national patriotic undertaking maintained by the coöperative efforts of American citizens. Its sole object is to promote in every part of the country the thought and the activities which shall lead to more wisdom, higher virtue, greater fidelity, and truer patriotism in the discharge of the obligations of citizenship. The importance, magnitude, and difficulties of the work in which it is engaged are equally obvious. It was the belief of the earnest patriots, many of them now dead, who were its founders, that in order to the success of its undertaking, the Institute must in itself be made an object lesson in the manifestation of the spirit and the virtues in citizenship which it seeks to inspire. Its work for ten years has been conducted without pecuniary rewards for services rendered by any of its officers or members. It has sought, and to an encouraging degree has received, the coöperation of citizens in every state and territory of the Union, without discrimination as to party, creed, sex, class, or color. Were it to conduct its work on the basis of class distinctions, it would be an unworthy representative of the spirit and the aims whose ascendancy it professes to seek. It is the confident belief of those who direct its affairs that there is not one of all its members, East, West, North, or South, who is not glad to welcome to membership in its ranks, and to fellowship in its unselfish labors for the safeguarding of our free institutions, any citizen who asks the privilege of sharing in these labors, and who brings to the work the simple qualifications of uprightness and sincerity. Discrimination is necessarily exercised in the matter of worthiness. Pains are taken to exclude political schemers who would make use of membership only as a means of giving credibility to false professions of patriotism. Members are not admitted without knowledge as to their character. But inquiry goes no further. Worthy colored men are already members. The names of miners, factory employees, and other workingmen are on the same roll with those of the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, the governor of the state of New York, presidents of universities, and other citizens of the highest attainments and distinction. Devoted to such high objects, and presenting so strong an appeal to the best elements in citizenship, the Institute has already become a recognized power for good. As a means of increasing its usefulness, it will gladly welcome to its membership any citizen who is in genuine sympathy with its objects, and who sincerely desires to promote them."

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

PENNSYLVANIA: *Pittsburg.*—The Allegheny County Civic Club, Hon. H. K. Porter chairman, has undertaken to double its membership at once, and proposes to enter upon efficient and persistent work in many directions, and will ask the coöperation of women.

. . . .

PENNSYLVANIA: *Philadelphia.*—The League of Good Citizenship, which is one of the most promising movements started by the Civic Club, is making good headway among the children for whom it is intended. Its aim is to teach the children good citizenship.

Two branches of the league have already been organized in the U. S. Grant and Octavius V. Catto Schools, in the twentieth ward, and a third started in the Alice Lippincott School, at Nineteenth and Addison Streets.

After the children of the school had been assembled, Miss Anna Hallowell, member of the board of education, spoke briefly of the Civic Club's work, and introduced Mrs. Sarah York Stevenson, the president of the club, who spoke of the objects of the league, saying: "You all, I am sure, have had the constitution of this league read and explained to you. The hope of the city is in the school children, who, we trust, will grow into good citizens, better, indeed, than we are trying to be."

Badges were then presented to the officers of the league, who were instructed in their duties by Mrs. Stevenson in a few kind words. This branch of the league starts with a membership of about 250, and is located in a section of the city where it is calculated to do much good.

The City Municipal League has just passed its second anniversary. The Philadelphia *Press* says of it:

"This organization is as yet far from complete, and it will probably be years before its full efficiency is secured; but any local organization of this character uniting citizens in all parts of this city desirous of improving its administration is of value to the entire city and to every citizen in it. Nothing will do more to improve city administration, raise the level of nominations, and keep voters and officials up to a high standard in dealing with civic affairs than an organization of this character in every ward in the city. It cannot fail to do a great work in educating voters, arousing taxpayers, and limiting known evils. There is a perpetual tendency in movements for reform for the same names to appear and reappear; but with the Municipal League, if it is wisely conducted and made broad in its character and freed and kept free from any social set or clique, it ought to be possible to secure a sound basis for reform efforts."

. . . .

NEW YORK: *New York City.*—The City Mission and Tract Society assembled about six hundred boys and girls at Olivet Memorial Church recently, for the purpose of listening to a program of patriotic songs and speeches. In addition a handsome card, on which was printed the hymn "America," was given to each child who had learned the words of the song. Ice cream and cake were served to all. The main body of

the church was decorated profusely with flags and bunting, and the flag was greeted with great enthusiasm by the youngsters present. The occasion was the first of a series of entertainments arranged by the New York City Mission and Tract Society.

Similar exercises for the benefit of the older division of the Sunday-school were held subsequently, with about 1,000 persons present. Miss Helen Gould, taking a great interest in the cultivation of patriotism among the children of the poor, has given the necessary funds for carrying out the plans of the society in regard to these entertainments.

* * * * *

LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION.—This organization offers a program of studies in civics which will receive the approval of every thinking woman in the great metropolis. Miss Adele M. Fielde, the secretary, will conduct a class in parliamentary law and procedure, beginning on October 6. This will continue throughout the season. There will also be a class for those who have already taken the first course. Miss Fielde will conduct a class in political economy and procedure, which will take up and discuss all bills before the city, state, or national legislators. Mrs. C. A. Runkle will manage a class in contemporary history or current events, paying particular attention to politics, diplomacy, and social movements at home and abroad. There will be a course of Saturday morning lectures, when men prominent in social and political life will speak upon political and social questions. There will be a course of addresses on civil service reform in November and December under the joint auspices of the league and the Woman's Auxiliary of the Civil Service Reform Association. Some of the leading advocates of civil service have already promised to attend and speak, including Herbert Welsh, George McAnneny, and Mrs. Charles R. Lowell. Professor John Graham Brooks, of Harvard, who gave so interesting a course of lectures this past spring, will conduct a class for the league in February and March which will be devoted to practical sociology.

* * * *

Lockport has a Civic League composed of workingmen, which has earnestly espoused the cause of municipal ownership as applied to city lighting. Their plans were approved by the people and by the common council, but have been vetoed by the mayor.

* * * *

Brooklyn is reaping the benefits of a strictly business administration of municipal affairs. By stimulating competition in the bidding for asphalt pavement the city has, according to the report of the commissioner of city works, just issued, "had the benefit of the very lowest prices ever made in any city," and the latest bids show even lower figures than those given in the report. If these bids are accepted Brooklyn will secure good pavements for $1.11 per yard, with a guarantee that they shall be kept in good condition for five years.

Dr. Lewis G. Janes, A. I. C., is meeting with great success in the conduct of his Brooklyn Institute classes for the study of practical problems in civics.

Of the forces opposed to Tammany in the pending election, the Philadelphia *Ledger* impartially observes:

"The several associations united under the direction of the Republican party in antagonism to Tammany adopted a common platform and agreed upon a fusion ticket. The platform is not by any means a perfect one, being based upon expedient compromise, and it is especially weak in its virtual abandonment of the Warner Miller Sunday observance plank of the Republican state platform. The timid spirit of compromise had much to do also with the selection of the ticket, and although it is not composed, as it unquestionably should be, of citizens of indisputable worth and public spirit, not affiliated with the practically political class, it is in the main a fairly good one, and infinitely superior to any to which it may be opposed. Should it be as heartily supported as was the previous one which defeated Tammany there will be little reason to fear that that corrupt and venal organization will this year, at least, recover the control of the municipal government which was last year wrested from it by similar forces and methods.

"Whatever strength this movement may develop will have been imparted to it by the public-spirited action of the Chamber of Commerce. In Philadelphia there are a number of mercantile bodies, representative of almost every one of the great business interests of the community, but there is not one of them which uses the moral power which its representative character gives it, to antagonize the malign influences of practical politics as they are exerted to the detriment of good government."

* * * *

Buffalo.—The Central Council of Good Government Clubs, at a recent meeting attended by Sherman S. Rogers (A. I. C.), Thomas R. Slicer (A .I. C.), and many other prominent citizens, voted to leave to the ward clubs to determine for themselves whether they should participate at the caucuses in the selection of candidates. A suggestion was thrown out to the ward clubs that they get together as early as possible.

The executive committee of the central council was instructed to ascertain who would be the most likely candidates for the various municipal offices which do not come within the scope of the ward organizations, and to investigate their characters and fitness for the positions to which they will likely be nominated. As soon as this work is completed, another meeting of the council will be held.

* * * *

CONNECTICUT: *Middletown.*—In furtherance of plans for practical instruction in civics, Wesleyan University recently arranged for an address before its students on "Politics as a Duty," by Postmaster-General Wilson. Institute of Civics is represented in the Wesleyan faculty by Prof. Willard C. Fisher.

* * * *

Hartford.—At the Fourth Church September 22 Rev. H. H. Kelsey spoke upon "Good Citizenship and What It Implies." He denounced

the course pursued by citizens who hold themselves aloof from politics because politics are bad. That is the very reason that good people should attend to the duty.

He spoke of the "let-alone" doctrine as a damnable one. Corruption will not right itself by being let alone. He announced the formation of a class in civics in connection with his church, in order to a better understanding of the purposes and methods of government and the duties of citizenship.

. . . .

UTAH: *Salt Lake City.*—An auspicious beginning for this city, as the metropolis of a new state, has been made in the direction of economy in municipal expenses. It has adopted ordinances calculated to cut its expenses by nearly thirty per cent. The changes reduce the monthly expenditures for salaries from $15,073.62 to $10,816.56. The annual expenditures, which last year were $180,883.50, are expected this year not to be more than $129,798.75. The whole plan of economy rests upon a general reduction of salaries of city employees, the abolition of all needless offices, and the consolidation of offices whose functions can be readily combined.

. . . .

LOUISIANA: *New Orleans.*—The splendid triumph of the good government forces in this city in April last has imposed upon the victors a responsibility which they must improve under conditions requiring great courage and discretion. To hold, and to wisely use, controlling power in the legislature they must avoid temptations and pitfalls which will meet them at every step. The cities of the whole country will watch for the outcome.

. . . .

IOWA: *Des Moines.*—The Women's Club is giving serious attention to civic affairs, and at a late meeting listened to excellent papers on "Public and Private Control of Franchises"; "Property Qualifications for Voters"; and "Partisan Politics," by Miss Susan Lombard, Mrs. Frank Dodson, and Miss Olive McHenry. Mrs. W. T. Johnson spoke on "Woman's Sphere in Municipal Affairs."

. . . .

OHIO: *Cleveland.*—The Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland has done the cause of municipal reform in that city a substantial service. Its Municipal Committee prepared an extended statement of the actual condition of affairs, and this report was discussed at length by many prominent citizens, including the mayor, at a regular meeting of the chamber. The report showed that the municipal service was not what it should be; that there was pressing need of effective civil service regulations; that public franchises had been given away too cheaply; that party allegiance had been developed at the expense of the public welfare, and so on through the list of municipal evils. The result is that Cleveland has been thoroughly stirred up over the need for reform.

. . . .

WISCONSIN: *Milwaukee.*—The Seventeenth District School, C. F. R.

Zimmerman principal, some time ago gave an object lesson in civics, with a well-arranged program of patriotic songs, declamations relating to important events in American history, and finally the presentation of the school as a little republic, with an illustration of office-electing methods, as applied in the state and nation. A drum corps added to the enthusiasm of the pupils, and the lessons taught were made as interesting as they were practical and useful.

. . . .

CALIFORNIA: *San Francisco.*—A movement similar to the Vineland, N. J., Sunday Institute of Civics, has been inaugurated in the form of Sunday afternoon good citizenship meetings in the Temple. At one of these meetings Mayor T. C. Ryan delivered a ringing address on "Nineteenth Century Patriotism and What It Demands." He vigorously disclaimed the title of "Irish-American" and said, "I hope the time will soon come when there will be no such thing as Irish-Americans, French-Americans, Spanish-Americans, Polish-Americans, or any other kind of American but a plain American, and nothing else but an American. Who ever heard of an American-Irishman in Ireland, or an American-German in Germany? Be an American by loving America, by honoring her flag, by standing up for her schools."

. . . .

MASSACHUSETTS: *Cambridge.*—What may be accomplished in other cities is evidenced by the results of the efforts of Cambridge citizens. Rev. Dr. Kelsey of Hartford says: "It has been nine years without a saloon, and is to-day the cleanest city, in both its council chambers, public offices, streets and wards, in this land."

. . . .

Boston.—Rev. Nehemiah Boynton recently devoted a stirring sermon to municipal problems at the Union Congregational Church. The great reason, he declared, for the failure and the corruption in our cities is that there is no absolute disinterestedness. Our leaders are not our representative men. They are not our noblest, ablest, or best men. And while such men refrain from an active participation in political life, how can we expect to solve these great problems? If we would solve them we must have as our rulers a band of men who thoroughly believe it to be an honor to offer any sacrifice, no matter how great, for their municipality; not an impetuous or impulsive sacrifice, but one long considered and consistent with absolute disinterestedness and the desire to make it tell. Otherwise we shall never be able to put down the evils which exist in the government of our land.

. . . .

ILLINOIS: *Chicago.*—The Y. M. C. A. is becoming alive to the importance of Christian activity in the direction of better citizenship and better government. *The Young Men's Era*, the Y. M. C. A. newspaper, in a late number speaks of an address by Mr. Giles, a councilor of the American Institute of Civics, before the association in that city, as follows:

"After addressing the meeting for the discussion of social economics held by the central department in Chicago, Mr. William A. Giles, who is one of the foremost leaders of the Civic Federation, became so deeply impressed with the association's opportunity to render public service in this direction, that he donated a hundred of the most valuable books on these subjects to the library. Who will follow his patriotic example in every town and city?"

. . . .

Spring Valley.—Information comes from this place to the effect that a committee of saloonkeepers representing thirty-three indicted saloon men of this city, called on State's Attorney Johnson and offered to pay a lump sum of $1,000 to settle suits against them for selling liquor on Sunday. The offer was rejected.

There are 660 counts against them. The prosecutor wants $5 a count and $6 on each count as costs, a total of $7,260. Several must go to jail, as they are unable to raise the money.

. . . .

CIVICS IN GENERAL. BALLOT PROTECTION.—Among the provisions of the new election law of Maryland designed to protect the purity of the ballot is one requiring that every person when registering shall state whether or not he can read and write, and if he can write he must sign his name on the registration book. This will aid in identifying voters on election day, and in preventing that evasion of the secrecy of the Australian ballot law which the voter could accomplish by asking for assistance in preparing his ballot on the plea that he could not read.

. . . .

BETTER CITIZENSHIP AND THEN BETTER POLITICS.—In his address before the National Municipal League, President James C. Carter, of New York, said: "The root of the whole trouble in municipal misgovernment is the close alliance between the leaders of state and national politics and the manipulators of local cliques or rings. And the true line of action to be taken by the friends of good government should be to banish, absolutely banish, from state and national politics the whole subject of municipal government."

Mr. Carter, like a good many other municipal and social reformers, makes the mistake of confusing the root with one of its offshoots. The root of bad government, whether it be local, state, or national, is a corrupt and misinformed public opinion. So long as this condition of public opinion exists corrupt municipal government will continue, even if municipal politics should be absolutely divorced from all outside politics. Municipal government is a reflection of the condition of public opinion existing in a community. It is good or bad accordingly as that opinion is alert, wholesome, and well informed, or torpid, corrupt, and ignorant. Designing men will have little more difficulty in accomplishing their objects with municipal politics separated from all other politics than they have now, provided a healthful public sentiment does not antagonize them. This is a fact which a

majority of municipal reformers forget and in forgetting it they leave the main road of reform and stray into a by-path.

The municipal reform question is like the labor question. There will be just as much progress as the condition of public opinion authorizes, and the condition of public opinion depends upon the education it has received. If labor reformers and municipal reformers would spend less time and effort in denouncing capitalists and political bosses and would give more attention to educating and informing the class to which they appeal the advance made in both directions would be vastly greater. The municipal boss flourishes on denunciation. He cannot withstand education. Let municipal reformers strike at the root and its offshoot will die with it.—*Philadelphia Press.*

. . . .

"WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?"—It does not consist in cursing foreign nations and foreign peoples and swearing that our own people and country are the best, brightest, bravest, and handsomest that ever lived. Patriotism means the love of country.

How, then, can patriotism be stimulated in the first instance save by having a country to be loved. Therefore, I say, make your country lovable by making your cities the real centers of virtue, intelligence, character, and all manner of usefulness, as they can and ought to be.—*J. C. Carter.*

. . . .

WOMAN'S OPPORTUNITY.—Municipal improvement is a duty in which all can engage without any distinction of sex or any contentions between them. Every woman is naturally neat, tidy, and cleanly, and aims to make everything proper and comfortable. Why should they not see this in a city as well as in their own household?

The original impulse in the great reformation in street-cleaning came from a woman. She did not make speeches, she did not talk uselessly to people without weight. She went to the three or four men who had the power, and used such convincing arguments as to make them ashamed of themselves.

She saw to it that estimates were prepared showing the cost of the proposed new work. She compelled men to put in the form of legal bills the required enactments and to secure their passage through the legislature.—*J. C. Carter.*

. . . .

JOHN BRISBEN WALKER, the millionaire editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, makes the following suggestive statements:

"What pastor in any great city can put his hand on the causes of sins . . . and not say that fully one half of these sins come from frightful poverty, or an overabundance of wealth—or from efforts to escape the one, or acquire the other? Take up the daily newspaper and read the record of the suicides from despondency caused by poverty—the thefts, the quarrels, the lies, the drunkenness, the disregard of one's neighbor, and the cruelty that emanates from the same causes.

"If we stop to ponder, recollecting the unnecessary comforts with

which we surround ourselves—the grasping for more which is the 'effort of our lives' with so many of us—and the unrelieved poverty that we know to be at our very doors, we must either question our belief in Christianity, or doubt our own sincerity, if not indeed our own sanity. What does it all mean? How can we be cheerful and happy and comfortable?"

. . . .

NO CHOICE BETWEEN BOSSES.—The ward bosses and professional politicians of one party are as corrupt and mischievous as those of another. They cannot be trusted for a moment where reasonable consideration for public welfare is required. They are in politics for spoils, and nothing else, and all their operations are directed to the object of getting as much of the city's money as possible into their own pockets.

The cities of the country are practically governed by these unscrupulous characters. They prosper by means of their cunning in the organization and manipulation of the lower classes. It is there that their strength lies. They know how to solidify the hoodlum vote and cast it all in every instance for given candidates. It is never a majority vote, counting the whole voting population, but it is an effective vote because it is disciplined and concentrated. If the good people of a city would act together with similar unanimity and directness of purpose, they could do what they pleased. But they are singularly indifferent to the advantage thus presented. They talk indignantly about the prevailing abuses of municipal government, and yet persistently disregard the proper means of correcting them. There will be extravagance and corruption, scandal and reproach, in the management of city business just as long as the respectable majority sits back and permits the unprincipled minority to exert a controlling influence in city politics. The question is one of practically dealing with well-understood facts. It closely concerns the personal interests of all law-abiding and self-respecting citizens, regardless of their different opinions upon issues of a national character. Intelligent and honest municipal government is desirable in the interests alike of Republicans and Democrats; and it can be obtained only by ignoring party lines and associating all upright citizens in a movement for the overthrow of the schemers and plunderers who run things to suit themselves.— *Wheeling Manufacturer.*

. . . .

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS.—A college student asks the president of the Institute of Civics for his opinion as to the relative influence of the press in affairs of public importance. The subject is a large one, and worthy of more than can be said in a paragraph. In the field of secular affairs, the American press is undoubtedly regnant. Its influence, exercised for good or evil, is everywhere a guiding and controlling force in the molding of popular opinion and the determining of public action. Presidents, senators, members of Congress, state and local officers, are in the final result chosen by the people; but the people from first to last, consciously or unconsciously, are under the influence of the men to whose utterances they give daily attention in the

home circle, the counting room, the factory, the shop, everywhere. In matters of public policy and public morals, the editor exercises commanding power for the weal or woe of the people of America. The United States is a nation of newspaper readers. In all affairs of public concern, the chief dependence of its citizens for the information which shall shape their judgment and guide their action is upon the press. The press is what the editor makes it. What the editor is, in the matter of patriotism, morals, wisdom rightly directed, and high manhood generally, is therefore a matter of supremest importance. He who sordidly or basely uses this throne of power for self-aggrandizement at the cost of the sacred interests of public virtue and private morality, is guilty of a deed as damnable as that of Judas Iscariot or Benedict Arnold.

> "Accursed, he hath God and country sold
> For lust of power and greed of paltry gold."

The editor who uses his power to promote the highest interests of the institutions and people of the United States may rightly be regarded as one of the great leaders upon whom the republic is becoming more and more dependent for its safety and welfare. The editors and publishers of American newspapers and periodicals, in the privilege of exercising such commanding influence, have the strongest possible inspiration to high and noble endeavors. If they abuse their privileges under the control of selfish and mean influences, whatever the degree of their success in the gaining of readers, and the getting of money, they are as unworthy of the esteem of the true men and women of America as the lowest panderer to the vices of humanity. Impelled by motives not a whit more commendable, their corruptive influence is infinitely greater; and their specious pretense of obligation to "give the public such matter as it demands" should not prevent them from being held in just infamy by all high-minded and truly patriotic citizens.

. . . .

HON. WILL A. MCTEER, Maryville, Tenn., writes: "I am proud to be a member of the Institute. I believe in a patriotism that is higher and more esteemed than party fealty or any other means or measures in the political world. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and this is none the less true in times of peace than in war. Indeed, the poison injected into the body politic in times of peace, when least suspected and all is in apparent prosperity, may for a time remain dormant, only to concentrate and reappear in a terrible eruption and destruction."

. . . .

E. L. RECTOR, San Saba, Tex., says: "I feel it an honor to be identified with the noble work to which the Institute is committed, and confidently believe its disinterested, patriotic, and enlightened efforts will be crowned with the widest usefulness and the most enduring success."

SUNDAY INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.—The useful work of this ... ing in Vineland, under the presidency of Dr. Thomas W. ... still continues. Circulars setting forth its plans will be sent ... Braidwood to any address.

. . . .

INDIAN PROGRESS.—Statistics received at the Indian Bu... that 30,000 Indians are now engaged in farming, stock-rais... other civilized pursuits. During the year they raised over ... bushels of corn, and other grain and vegetables in proportion. ... own 206,000 head of cattle, and 1,284,000 sheep.

About 22,000 Indians voted at the last election. It is estimate... 30,000 out of the total Indian population of 247,000 are church m... Out of the 247,000 189,000 are self-supporting, and 35,000 pay ta...

. . . .

SABBATH OBSERVANCE.—Through the efforts of Ex-U. S. ... Warner Miller (A. I. C.) the Republican party in its late state ... tion at Saratoga was led to disregard the policy prescribed by ... agers, and at the last moment to unanimously and enthusi... adopt a resolution favoring the maintenance of the Sunday la... interests of labor and morality.

VOL. IX NOS. 2-3

AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS

A JOURNAL OF PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM

15 CENTS MONTHLY

ANDREW J. PALM AND HENRY RANDALL WAITE EDITORS.

ONE YEAR $1.50

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1896.

THE CONCERNS OF CIVICS ARE GOOD GOVERNMENT GOOD CITIZENSHIP RIGHT SOCIAL ORDER. JUST PRINCIPLES, AND RIGHT PRACTICE IN SOCIAL ETHICS, CIVIL POLITY, CIVIL LAW AND ECONOMICS. POPULAR INTELLIGENCE, VIRTUE, THRIFT. THE COMMONWEAL OF THE NATION, STATE, COMMUNITY AND FAMILY.

INDEPENDENT CIRCULATION OF GOLD AND SILVER COINAGE . . . . . JOHN B. DELANY

PATRIOTISM IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS . . . CHAUNCEY P. COLEGROVE

TWO KINDS OF WEALTH . . . . . L. G. BOSTEDO

MACHINERY AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION . . . . . J. M. H. FREDERICK

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC . GARRETT W. THOMPSON

A FARMER'S THOUGHTS ON SILVER . . . . . BY A FARMER

A MISSION OF THE PUBLIC PARK . . . . . HENRY LESLIE OSBORN

THE EVOLUTION OF MONEY. I. . . . . JAMES DENTON HANCOCK

THE GOLD MONEY FALLACY: A STUDY OF THE FINANCIAL SITUATION . . . . . J. C. ELLIOTT

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK:

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.—Extension Department; H. D. C. Slater.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.—Reports from Various Cities; Christian Endeavorers and Good Citizenship; Benefits of "No Licens[illegible] Make Good Citizens; Young Men in Politics; Schools for Sta[illegible]

LIBRARY OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY JUN 17 '96

CIVICS PUBLISHING CO[illegible]

NEW YORK - 38 PARK ROW

BOSTON PHILADELPHIA CHICAGO ST. LOUIS WASHINGTON NEW ORLEANS

THERE ARE MANY

UNION PACIFIC
THE OVERLAND ROUTE
WORLD'S PICTORIAL LINE

Cool Retreats

ON THE LINE OF

"THE OVERLAND ROUTE"

YOU WILL FIND

FISHING : : : : In Rocky Mountain Streams.

BATHING : : : : In Great Salt Lake.

CURATIVE WATER In Utah and Hailey Hot Springs.

Send for Advertising Matter before you arrange for your Summer Outing.

E. DICKINSON, General Manager.

E. L. LOMAX, Gen'l Pass. and Tkt. Agt.,
OMAHA, NEB.

Tips to Lawyers!

IF

YOU ARE A COMMERCIAL LAWYER AND BELIEVE IN

Advertising

YOU SHOULD SELECT CAREFULLY THE

MEDIUM

The Lawyer and Credit Man

And Financial-Trade-Press Review

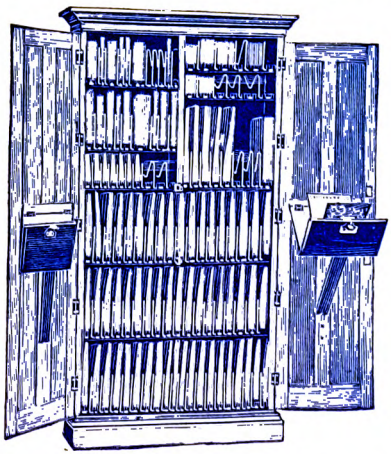
PRODUCES *RESULTS*

AND THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

Sample copy sent free if you will mention this magazine.

WINSBOROUGH-IRVINE CO.,
Times Building, NEW YORK.

WELLS FILING CABINETS



For filing Letters, Invoices, Catalogues, Price Lists, Documents (flat), Documents (folded), Legal Blanks, any kind of sheet, any size of sheet. Strong points: Rapid filing, quick reference, labor saving, no waste room, adjustability (keep the adjustable feature in mind), combination (one cabinet can be arranged to do all work mentioned above). Will file anything from a newspaper clipping to a 1000 page catalogue. The shelves are adjustable, the partitions are adjustable, the files will expand from one inch to five inches, as case may require. Send for catalogue showing different styles and sizes.

A. J. WELLS MFG. CO.,
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

THE PROMISED LAND.

Why the Tourist, Traveler, and Student should visit Utah.

There are two reasons, either one of which ought to be conclusive with every American citizen.

First:—The trip from Denver to Utah via Rio Grande Western, "Great Salt Lake Route," is the grandest to be found anywhere on the continent. No European trip of equal length can compare with it in variety and grandeur of scenery and wealth of novel interest.

Second:—You should go because, when you have made this wonderful trip, you will find Utah at the end of it—Utah, one of the world's famous spots and a land of gold, silver, copper, iron, and coal; of lofty mountains and fertile valleys; of vineyards, fruits, and flowers. Salt Lake City, the capital, is of great interest on account of its historical and religious associations. Here are Hot Thermal Springs, Warm Springs, Sulphur Springs, Sanitarium, Parks, Drives, Canyons, and the most healthful climate on earth. Great Salt Lake with the new and beautiful Salt-air Beach Resort, of Moorish design, has no equal in America. Write to F. A. Wadleigh, Salt Lake City, for copies of pamphlets, etc.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

VOL. IX. AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1896. NOS. 2-3.

INDEPENDENT CIRCULATION OF GOLD AND SILVER COINAGE.

BY JOHN B. DELANEY.

IN antiquity, silver and gold from their inherent qualities and scarcity were universally appreciated for ornamental usages, and thus small quantities coming to possess large values these metals became much used as affording a convenient means of hoarding, and finally of measuring values. Silver and gold then coming to be generally used as measurers of value, it was usual to stipulate in contracts that so much by weight of silver or so much by weight of gold was required in fulfillment of the contract.

The further development of this usage of the metals is a concurrent circulation of independent gold and silver coinages and it is the purpose of this article to show that this independent circulation is the natural and just coinage system; and that it is futile to hope for a restricted coinage system which shall be equally just, but free from the inconvenience caused by the variations in the relative values of the metals.

It should be agreed that the producers of silver and gold, as well as the producers of all other substances, have equal rights to use their products for all purposes for which their inherent qualities and the relationship of things make them valuable. But by arbitrarily limiting the amount of a metal that may be used for coinage a government not only prevents the use of the metal for the purpose which would naturally cause the chief

demand for it, but is also the involuntary cause of violent and hurtful fluctuations in the value of the other one.

Moreover, the original values of the metals are much enhanced by the fact that the world determines them to serve as the bases of value for its currencies; and this enhancing effect grows with an increased demand for currency. Now, as the world's supply of gold and silver is so much greater than its supply of either one of them, it is easily seen that increased demands for currency are more readily satisfied when there is coinage on demand for both metals than when the right of coinage is restricted to one of them; and so the values of the metals, that is of money itself, are far less enhanced by an increased demand.

It may be said that the natural development of the currency would not be complete at the stage where independent gold and silver coinages were freely circulating; but that the capitalists, merchants, and business community in general, would unite to establish and maintain a certain ratio of valuation, and save themselves from the great inconvenience of a double currency.

The reply is that a free circulation at an undetermined ratio was termed the natural system because it does not endeavor to prevent the action of natural laws, as of supply and demand, while the maintenance of a certain ratio does endeavor to prevent their action; but such endeavors only hasten the coming of the time, however remote that may be, when such maintenance shall become impossible.

In order to verify this statement let us suppose that the hopes of the advocates of international bimetallism are realized, and that all the governments of the world are pledged by an inviolable agreement to the free coinage of gold and silver at a certain ratio.

With such an agreement in force, the ratio can be maintained until the sum of all private demands for one of the metals, at the valuation of that ratio, shall be enough to monopolize the world's supply of that metal. It may be observed that if such an event were considered probable, then speculative individuals would greatly hasten its coming.

Now as the world's supply of the precious metals is a very large quantity compared to the annual production, and as the coinage demand for them is so great, it may be agreed that a ratio, even though differing greatly from the true one, might be maintained for a long period of time.

Nevertheless, the very effect of all the governments of the world thus endeavoring to maintain a certain ratio is to accelerate the action of forces tending to change that ratio; for to prevent a natural change in the relative values of the metals is to depress the production of the one tending to a relative increase in value, and to stimulate the production of the one tending to a relative decrease in value. Or, in other words, the governments tax the production of that metal relatively more of which is required, and pay bounties for the production of that metal relatively less of which is needed, for the very maintenance of the ratio to which the governments are pledged.

Also, as regards the uses of the metals for other purposes than coinage: that metal which has its natural value depressed by the ratio maintenance is more freely used than it would otherwise be, and must as a result become scarcer and tend all the more to increase in value; while that metal which has its natural value enhanced is less used than it would otherwise be, and so becomes more abundant and tends all the more to lessen in value.

If it be said that the governments would themselves know just the proper times when to make changes in the ratio without doing injury, the reply is that to change the ratio without doing injury is impossible, when the changes are made by arbitrary leaps, and that to change it gradually is simply following the market ratio; or, in effect, is free circulation at an undetermined ratio.

The international bimetallists may urge that the variation of the ratio is chiefly owing to the independent actions of governments in adopting or changing their respective monometallic systems, and that were the ratio only subject to changes produced by ordinary variations in supply and demand it would then remain nearly constant; so that it would be advocating a

purely imaginary benefit, and moreover be neglecting an obvious advantage, to insist that a certain ratio should not be maintained.

In reply the previous sufficient objections might be amplified, and results drawn leading to the belief that any arbitrary disturbance of the libration existing between supply and demand is against the world's economy. However, avoiding such diffuseness, it may be observed that for the very realization of a *complete* international bimetallism it is essential that governments should independently adopt the principle of free circulation at an undetermined ratio.

For the determination of the ratio which shall be internationally maintained is an important matter. Such a universal maintenance must result in this: the amount of either metal used as coinage will be the balance from the world's supply after all other demands for that metal, at the maintained ratio value, have been satisfied. Thus in fixing a ratio the relative amounts of the metals which shall be left for coinage purposes are also determined; so that if the relative amounts of the metals which are naturally demanded for coinage purposes are to be secured, then at the time of its fixture the ratio must be the resultant expression of the coördinate action of this and all other demands.

Moreover, if the governments of silver-producing countries do not allow free but independent coinage, then the producers will continue to force them to demonstrate the impracticability of maintaining a certain ratio of valuation, independent circulation perhaps resulting only after injustice has been done a number of people by the government designating two coins of different values to serve equally as legal tender.

It may be said that if free circulation at an undetermined ratio were adopted by a government it would result in one of the metals being used for coinage to the exclusion of the other. Suppose that such a result has followed: the cause that brought it is that the metal which has disappeared from the currency is relatively unsuitable for coinage uses among that people from whose currency it has disappeared.

The total demand for the precious metals is the sum of the demands for coinage, for plate, for ornamental uses, etc., and the coinage demand is so great that it should be generally agreed that it largely dominates the relative value of the metals. But the coinage demands for the respective metals change as the relative suitability of the metals for coinage uses changes, and that suitability in turn changes as the size and weight of the respective coins, necessary to measure certain generally used absolute values, change. Now suppose that the relative amounts of the world's supply of gold and silver remain constant, but that the absolute amounts vary: then, as the world's supply becomes small, silver becomes the more suitable metal for coinage-uses and the coinage demand increasing in its favor the ratio of valuation decreases; on the contrary, if the world's supply becomes so large that gold becomes the more suitable metal for coinage uses, then the coinage demand increasing in its favor the ratio of valuation increases. In this connection it may be said that during the times preceding the discovery of America the world's supply of the precious metals was so insufficient that very small amounts possessed values so large that silver was far the more suitable metal for coinage uses; and so upon the discovery of the New World, and a consequent pouring forth of a largely disproportionate amount of silver, the increase in the ratio of valuation was probably not so great as it would have been had the original supply of the metals been so large that they were equally used for coinage.

Of course, however, there were causes exclusive of coinage demand also preventing a greater increase in the ratio; in that the doubling of a production does not halve its value, for the lessening of value which follows an increase of production allows a freer use of the product and this consequent increase in the demand bears up the declining value.

These topics lead to the remark that a representative currency is the natural resource of the producers of a metal that is becoming relatively unsuitable for coinage uses; for, by enabling the metal to serve as a basis of value, such representation by keeping up the demand for the metal also keeps up its value.

It may be said that a people may have a prejudice in favor of one of the metals and that this will be a sufficient reason for the sole use of that metal by them for their coinage. But it should be remembered that the fundamental value of the metals is referable to that innate taste which, appreciating their rarity and beauty, adopts them for ornamental usages; and if this be deprecated as an injurious prejudice then those human qualities which originally gave value to the metals are deprecated. But self-interest will not allow full scope for the action of a natural preference for either metal; for self-interest in exchange necessitates the reception of any coinage, against the value of which no material objections can be urged.

In the case of a people using chiefly one metal for their coinage because they are greater producers of that metal, it must be said that they are equally as justified in thus utilizing their production as they would be in the consumption of any other of their productions; and, moreover, constant familiarity with the value of their product makes it their natural measurer of value.

Probably the principal objection that will be urged against independent circulation is that it will make necessary a constant changing of silver values into gold values and that it will require the uneducated to know what money really is. The answer is that if the relative values of all substances were constant, all transactions would be somewhat simplified; but it is not, as a consequence, praiseworthy to fly in the face of natural laws in an effort to make them constant. And, as to independent circulation supplying a disadvantageous coinage from the fact that it requires the people to know something about money, the reply is that such universal disciplinings are productive of great good. Upon the urgent proposal of schemes which, in effect, require the government to make money for the people, it is quite probable that those who believe it unnecessary for the uneducated to understand such a simple matter as changes in gold and silver values will, nevertheless, most strongly renounce the ignorance of simple monetary facts among the people who foster and support such illusions.

It is now apparent in our own country that when the govern-

ment restricts the right of coinage to one of the metals, then the people as a whole are losers; for besides the right given money, as such, to increase in value, there is an opposing tendency toward an unstable money system, which tendency will ever be present as a blind seeking for that justice which is denied.

Now the only just, sincere, and harmonious way for the great political parties to meet the silver question in the North, South, East, and West, is to adopt the principle of free circulation of gold and silver at an undetermined ratio.

That is: Silver and gold have equal rights to circulate as measurers of value, but neither of them has the right to expect the maintenance of an arbitrary relationship between them; and the coins which respectively serve as units of measure of silver and of gold shall be understood to be altogether independent of each other, and, for the sake of thoroughly impressing this fact upon the people, they should have different names.

No owner of either metal can demand anything more, nor deny the independence of the metals on so just a plane.

JOHN B. DELANY.

PATRIOTISM IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.*

BY CHAUNCEY P. COLEGROVE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THERE is a wide difference between our standards of private and public morality. The cause of this great difference is not so much the result of our form of government as it is a principle of human nature, and the remedy for the great evils arising from this double standard of morality is not reformative in its nature, but formative; not political, but educational.

Civilization is a two-faced unity. Every question, political, educational, or moral, has a double side. One side faces the individual, the other faces society. We test every proposed institution or reformation by the double question: "How will it affect the well-being of the individual?" "How will it further the interests of society?" Whatever truly benefits the individual elevates society, and whatever advances society gives to the individual a better opportunity for self-realization. That form of government is best that permits the freest adjustment between the individual and society. Under the old systems of monarchy the individual was repressed, dwarfed, brutalized, and society suffered in consequence. To establish a government in which the individual should have the fullest opportunity for self-realization has, through all ages, been the dream of the reformer, the patriot, and the philosopher. Our form of government realizes more fully than any other this dream of the heroes and martyrs of the past.

Our republican institutions rest upon the democratic foundation of local self-government. As long as this foundation remains firm the house will stand, and no longer. The principle of local self-government implies that men, when given the opportunity to do so, will actively interest themselves in the public affairs of their own community. Therefore, the man who

* Read before the Iowa State Teachers' Association, Des Moines, Jan. 2, 1896.

does not interest himself in the affairs of his own community, from its board of health to its public schools, is an enemy of the principle of self-government and of the whole system of political institutions founded upon it.

Yet the facts demonstrate beyond question that we have in every community a large body of intelligent voters—large enough to turn the scale in favor of good local government—who never attend a caucus, and who seldom exercise their right of suffrage except in state or national elections. These voters, as a rule, are not foreigners educated in Europe, nor are they representatives of the criminal classes, but native-born Americans, educated in our public schools. These men have not been properly trained in the duties of citizenship. Every man who votes for governor or president and *not* for mayor, councilman, or school officer, makes his right of franchise a luxury, a mere sentiment, not a conviction of duty founded upon reason. Let no such voter "lay the flattering unction to his soul" that he is capable of experiencing a single thrill of genuine patriotism, for, so far as the result of an election concerns the daily affairs of his own life and his own community, the honest expenditure of public money, the closing of saloons and gambling dens, and the removal of temptation from his own and his neighbor's boys and girls, the proper care of the poor, the public health, the purity of the water supply, the protection of life and property, the election of honest magistrates, the kind of schools—in all these things, the caucus and the election in his own town for mayor, councilmen, and school officers are ten times more important than the party politics of the man who is to fill the governor's chair or execute the laws of the United States. How to train up a more public-spirited body of voters is one of the most important questions that can be suggested; for it is certainly true that the man who labors most intelligently and devotedly to advance the well-being of his own immediate community thereby accomplishes most for his whole country and for humanity, and is the really valuable citizen, the true patriot.

Nearly every great blessing that society enjoys to-day may be traced back to some man's faithfulness to his community. It

was thus that Hampden's refusal to pay a shilling's tax, illegally levied, produced a revolution that established English liberty. It was thus that Pestalozzi became the educator of humanity. He writes, "I seek only to make easier and more simple the methods of instructing the lowest classes in my immediate neighborhood, whom I saw to be unhappy, discontented, and dangerous in consequence of their wrong training." That man, then, who is true to the rights and the best interests of his own community, does the most to advance the welfare of society. And, on the other hand, society suffers through the neglect of every individual who does not perform his duties as a citizen in the community in which he lives.

Charles Dickens, in "Bleak House," shows how ignorance, poverty, and vice react upon society. In describing "Tom-all-alones" he says:

> There is not an atom of Tom's slime, not a cubic inch of any pestilential gas in which he lives, not one obscenity or degradation about him, not an ignorance, not a wickedness, not a brutality of his committing, but shall work its retribution through every order of society, up to the proudest of the proud, and to the highest of the high.

It is said that "revolutions never go backward," but the same cannot be said of reforms. It is the despair of legislators, philosophers, and people that reforms *do* tend to go backward—that it takes "eternal vigilance" to cope with the powers of political and social corruption. It remained for a great educator who "lived among beggars that he might teach beggars to live like men" to point out the reason why a reform is in constant danger of suffering a relapse. "Human nature," he said, "acts with far greater gentleness and purer power on each individual than it ever can on masses, corporations, or communities of men. It is undeniable that whatever is holy and divine in instinct expresses itself in the individual by its harmonious influence on all his natural powers; but this holy and divine quality in instinct becomes crippled and ineffectual in every case where it influences any mass or body of men in their collective capacity."

Our own experience and the history of all reforms attest the truth of this statement of Pestalozzi. Men in masses lose in a

Digitized by Google

what the "nation's to-morrow" will be depends far more on the teachers of our public schools than it does upon the preacher in the pulpit, the lawmaker, or the judge. It is gratifying to see that this truth is being more and more recognized, to see thoughtful men turning to our schools as the place from which must come the leaven that is to work reformation in our national and political life. Many teachers and county superintendents have done much to arouse pupils and people to an active interest in patriotism, and yet the work, in the main, has been quite desultory and unsystematic. Many teachers who have been earnestly desirous of teaching patriotism in their schools have had no definite standard of patriotism, or possibly a wrong one; have not considered the qualifications necessary for teaching it, the means of teaching, what to teach, nor how to teach. I heartily honor every teacher who has made an effort to interest pupils in our national life, and yet I can but feel that the Washington programs and flag-raisings and patriotic quotations, while they ought not to be left *undone*, should not supersede "the weightier matters of the law." They should be used to supplement systematic instruction along other lines, and all unified by a definite purpose. In fact, if by such exercises, drums and flags and bloody battles and military heroes, and dying for one's country are forever to represent in the child's mind *all* there is in patriotism, these exercises may do more harm than good. We want a patriotism taught in the public schools which shall be more than a mere instinct. A wild beast will fight to the death on the threshold of its den in defense of its home and its young, but such a standard of patriotism is not high enough for a man. Neither is patriotism a mere sentiment. Patriotism *is* a sentiment, a grand and noble one. It is love of country. Love is an emotion, but it is an emotion that prompts to service, to devotion, to sacrifice. Love that is a mere sentiment fills our divorce courts. Patriotism that is a mere sentiment fills the columns of our newspapers with sanguinary editorials. It is the kind that produces spasms of reform in our municipal politics. True patriotism rests upon the splendid foundation of reason, education, courage, and self-sacrifice.

We want a patriotism taught in our schools which is adapted to the present state of civilization. The standard of patriotism varies. It does not mean in this sunset of the nineteenth century and in the United States what it meant ages ago in democratic Greece or imperial Rome. Nor does it mean here what it may mean even now in Italy, Germany, or Russia. Every great people has its own peculiar genius and ideals, and every great nation has its own peculiar mission and destiny. And in spite of all this talk of war, I make bold to say that the ideal, the genius, the mission, the destiny of this nation is not war, but peace.* Too long has the world's ideal of patriotism been war. Too much, even in our own country, have military heroes been held up to our youth as the only true models of patriotism. Our literature, even that of the church, has been too much the gospel of combat. The apparently existing ideals of patriotism are a disgrace to civilization. The standing armies of Europe cost the people nearly a thousand million dollars a year, and Armenia's awful experience proves that not a single rifle is in the hands of a soldier of Europe for the purpose of protecting civilization and humanity from the infamous barbarities of the "unspeakable Turk," but for the *sole* purpose of destroying civilization within the borders of Europe itself on the first pretext of war. Shall we adopt their ideals? Do we not understand that we are the great representatives of a newer, better civilization—a civilization that looks forward to that future

"When the war drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

Under the old civilization men grew apart; war was the universal trade, and *then* the warrior was the patriot. Nations built impassable barriers along their boundaries. All foreigners were enemies. But in our newer civilization men and nations are growing together again. Barriers to communication are being removed, mountains are tunneled, rivers are spanned, and steam and electricity bind together the nations. To lead in this work of peace has been our nation's greatest glory.

*This paper was read a few days after President Cleveland's message on the Venezuela boundary dispute.

An English historian, speaking of the effect upon Europe produced by the independence of the United States, says:

> The independence of America introduced a new political force into the world. Public spirit was revived in Europe. She saw that she must keep up with the moral and political progress of America. To do this, great changes were necessary, and the history of Europe ever since has been the history of these changes.

But Europe is not the only quarter of the world in which our influence has been felt. Open the constitution of the United States of Colombia, the Argentine Republic, or of Brazil, and you will realize how great has been the conquering power of our political ideals. The leading elements of European civilization were borrowed from Asia. They are autocracy and monarchy in government, caste in society, and intolerance in religion. It was to escape from the power of such ideals that our forefathers crossed the Atlantic to found a new civilization in which the leading ideals should be democracy in government, equality in society, tolerance in religion, and freedom in education.

This is the broad view of our national life and our nations' mission that he who aspires to teach patriotism in our public schools must have. With such a view he will have no difficulty in holding up before his pupils a proper standard of patriotism, for this view gives to every one of our local political institutions a priceless value. Without such a view, the teacher, seeing political trickery and corruption on every hand, is in the greatest danger of becoming a political pessimist; and Satan himself is not more out of place in a pulpit than is the political pessimist as a teacher of history in a public school or a college.

I should say that another qualification of the teacher of patriotism is that she should be a voter, "every one of her." Did it ever occur to you that the present generation of voters in the United States is the very first in the history of the world which has been educated by women teachers, and that those teachers are themselves not voters? It seems to be the consensus of opinion, as expressed in the papers read from this platform, that the average teacher is not very well qualified to teach the "three R's." What then must we conclude in regard

to the ability of the average teacher to inspire love of country and to teach the duties of citizenship?

Psychologists tell us that we must experience some things before we can adequately sense them or explain them. Voting is one of these things. A little experience in the active duties of citizenship would materially aid in impressing a sense of personal responsibility in political matters upon the mind of a thoughtful young man or woman about to enter the service of the state as a teacher in the public school. They would take a greater interest in political affairs. County superintendents would be able to insist on some accurate and definite knowledge of the duties of a voter as a necessary qualification for teaching, and we might soon hope to have in our public schools the most necessary condition for the rational teaching of patriotism, namely, teachers who understand the duties of citizenship. There are hundreds of words in our newspapers and magazines, our public speeches, our histories and civil governments, words closely connected with our common political life, that forever remain as pure abstractions to those who do not have and exercise the right of suffrage. The age limit of twenty-one years could be changed, if it is necessary to employ as teachers young people below that age. At least no one will deny that the young man or woman old enough and competent enough to take charge of a school ought to possess as much intelligence as the average voter.

Assuming that the teacher is qualified to teach patriotism in her school, what means does she have at hand for teaching it, and what shall she teach?

The means and the what are suggested by the full meaning of that one word, the "state." This meaning should be fully grasped by the teacher and by the pupils. The word is not a mere abstraction. The term "state" should suggest certain definite geographical limits. It should suggest a community of persons having common interests. It should suggest the laws which these persons make to secure their common rights and interests. It should suggest that to enforce such laws justly, these persons have formed a permanent organization called the

government. Here, then, is the foundation on which to build systematic and intelligent instruction in patriotism in our public schools. In his geography lesson the future citizen is learning the extent, resources, products, and institutions of his country. He should learn the means of communication between the different parts of the country. He should learn that public money builds the roads and bridges, the asylums and schoolhouses, and *why* it is so. He should learn how railroads are built and managed, what a corporation is, how streets are paved, why they should be kept clean; how epidemics can be avoided, what a board of health is for, what is the best way of helping the poor.

In history, the pupil should learn less of wars and battles; he should learn how little communities, like the one in which he lives, were organized; how they governed themselves, what causes made them a success or a failure; how those that were settled by honest, industrious persons who believed with all their heart in certain great principles, prospered and finally grew into states; while laziness, injustice, and bad management brought failure, poverty, and disease. He should learn that the government is only the organ, or agent, of the state; learn how the people make a government; how they elect men to do certain things, why they pay them; how money is raised and how it should be spent; how necessary it is that honest men should be elected to handle this money; what we would ask about a man before we would trust him to take care of *our* money, and that the people's money is just as good as ours.

But, most important of all, the school itself should be an ideal community—the state in miniature. The pupil in his daily contact with his schoolmates should learn to *practice* the duties of citizenship. Habits in the individual are what institutions are in society—they are the basis of the institutional man. In all cases the pupil should see that the school is only a means for his self-realization, and should look upon the rules of the school as necessary self-helps. The teacher should understand that the school virtues are exactly the social virtues, and that the school government is the chief means for the child's acquiring self-government. We, as teachers, violate this principle by our

foolish systems of rewards and punishments, our bribes and marks and cards, and thus help to foster the notion that the performance of political duty must always be rewarded with office. The cardinal virtues of the school are identical with those of the state.

In the organization of the school, founded upon justice, the pupil has constantly before him the conception of a community of persons with common interests working harmoniously together for the good of all; and in the teacher he should find the embodiment of the wise, just, and honest governor. In such a community he will learn the sense of personal responsibility. He is to learn respect for private rights of ownership, care of public property, interest in the general health and cleanliness, and is to acquire an ever-ready disposition to obey the necessary laws and to do every day what is best for all. And the teacher should always remember that it is vastly more important that pupils should learn in school to be kind to their mates, to respect each other's rights, to feel an interest in keeping the schoolroom neat and clean, and thus contribute to the happiness and welfare of all, than that they should learn so many pages of grammar, history, or arithmetic. The pupil thus acquires an interest in the community life of the school. He feels that the school exists for him and he for it. He daily applies the standard of a higher ideal to the needs of the community, and he will continue to do so when he goes out into the world. He will take an active interest in politics and in community life, and will carry into *some* political organization an educated individual conscience and a high ideal of public morality, and, best of all, a willingness to do his whole political duty.

Thus the only intelligent, systematic, effective method of teaching patriotism in our public schools is to make the school itself, in its organization and government and spirit, an ideal democracy where pupils learn to practice self-government, learn reciprocal rights and duties, learn loyalty to the community and to the national flag, truth, honesty, and public spirit; for *these* qualities are the essentials of patriotism. Genuine patriotism can never be developed by itself *apart* from manhood—it *is* manhood.

CHAUNCEY P. COLEGROVE.

TWO KINDS OF WEALTH.

BY L. G. BOSTEDO.

"WEALTH has the power of commanding production and labor, and consequently of giving a direction to both; . . . . Fortune, which is abundant wealth in the hands of an individual, constitutes a power of administration."

So says M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for April. It is apparent from this statement that M. Beaulieu uses the term "wealth" in its loose, popular sense. Wealth, technically defined, has no such power of commanding production and labor as has wealth popularly understood. Fortune does indeed constitute a power of administration, but fortune includes far more than economic wealth.

Much confusion exists in the popular mind regarding this term wealth. Wealth, in political economy, includes all valuable products of human labor. Buildings, machinery, articles of food and clothing, furniture, etc., are typical wealth. The popular term wealth, however, includes something else, wholly different in its nature from these things. This foreign element, which I call false or illegitimate wealth, consists not of the products of human labor, but of the *legalized power to appropriate those products.* Public franchise monopolies and land titles are typical examples of this so-called wealth.

Real wealth, the product of labor, is a blessing; it contains no power of oppression. Illegitimate wealth is the sum of all curses; it is oppression itself. Genuine wealth is the natural accompaniment of freedom and prosperity. Illegitimate wealth is inevitably coupled with poverty and slavery. Genuine wealth is of great utility in the production of more wealth. Illegitimate wealth curtails the production and diverts the distribution of genuine wealth.

Fortune, referred to by M. Beaulieu, almost without exception

consists much more largely of illegitimate than of genuine wealth. Keeping the distinction I have drawn in mind, some of M. Beaulieu's observations are quite suggestive. He says: "The social function of wealth comes into play when the disposition is to be determined of the surplus that is left after a comfortable style of living with judicious luxury is provided for, and a proper amount has been put away."

What is it that the wealthy "put away," "after a comfortable style of living with judicious luxury is provided for"? People do not "put away" fruit, meat, or vegetables, for even with modern refrigerating appliances they do not keep very long. They do not "put away" wearing apparel, as that is subject to change of fashion. Even machinery and buildings are subject to wear and the action of the elements, and are not the preferred form of surplus to "put away." What then do men of wealth "put away" and bequeath to their favored descendants? Is it not simply the legalized power to appropriate the products of somebody's labor in the future? When a man bequeaths to his children the deed of a city lot, he bequeaths to them the power to command the labor of other people's children. In other words, it is possible under present laws for certain privileged men living now to so arrange the affairs of the next generation that their own favored descendants will be relieved from the necessity of laboring to produce the things they will undoubtedly require for food, clothing, and shelter; while other less favored men of the next generation will not only have to produce enough for their own necessities, but will also be compelled to produce wealth in the most prodigal variety and abundance and turn it over to their privileged fellow-beings. Perhaps it would be more precise to say that it is possible for certain privileged men living now to make arrangements that will have the effect I have described, provided that the people of the next generation are ignorant and stupid enough to abide by such injustice.

We need not wait for the next generation to see this condition of affairs; we have the two classes now—the enslaved and oppressed millions wearing out their lives toiling for bare subsistence, and supporting the others, the privileged few, in luxury.

The masses of our generation feel their misery and are conscious of the injustice, but they are unable to locate it. Even the avowed specialists, the professed social and moral physicians, have not yet made a correct diagnosis. For various reasons, not very creditable to men of science, they denounce as quackery the simple truth about the cause of involuntary poverty.

Many people are confused in their thought because we frequently see the economic producer and the parasite combined in the same physical individual. If the landlords and franchise holders were all idlers, and if common producers never held or acquired any interest in the capitalized privileges, thus constituting them the middle classes, people would see more clearly. We must not be blinded either morally or intellectually by the circumstance that most people are dual, economically considered. Often one man is both producer and landlord. The fact that it is possible for many to acquire some of the power to appropriate the products of the labor of others is no justification for the existence of such power.

The following observation of Mr. Beaulieu is also suggestive:

Persons of great wealth have large opportunities for usefulness in associating themselves with, and participating in, efforts which seem useful, but the results of which are uncertain. Many discoveries and inventions have to pass through a period of incubation, as recently electric lighting and the transmission of force by electricity, and now the division and dispersion of motive force into small shops, experiments in photography of colors, etc. Numerous costly efforts are necessary in seeking advance in such matters which we see to be possible and even near, but which still are far from the practicable period. Outside of the professional and technical ranks the persons who can make these experiments are not of the class who are simply at ease. At most they can only devote insignificant sums to them. Such persons may be set to their work and kept at it by the private aid of the really wealthy, who are not asked to risk a fraction of their capital, but only a small portion of their surplus income, after all its other applications have been provided for. Wealth is thus put in the way of fulfilling its social function of assisting progress; and much more is accomplished by it in this way than the multitude think. A similar field of usefulness is found in giving assistance to agricultural experimentation. The great English lords, according to Thorold Rogers in his "Economical Interpretation of History," achieved much in this direction in the seventeenth century; and Arthur Young has cited cases of numerous gentlemen and industrial proprietors in France who

improved their opportunities of thus doing good. A large estate is a free school, a field of experiments in novelties from which the neighboring small property derives a full share of benefit. The trial of new cultivations, of selected seed, of improved implements, of methods suggested by science, is the task of the opulent large proprietor or of the rich manufacturer or merchant spending his vacation or his leisure on his country estate. So these large proprietors have a mission to perform in the choice of good breeders for reproduction or selection, and in the improvement of vegetable species.

A pertinent question is, "What is it that persons of great wealth do when they lend their aid (?) to experiments and enterprises of the nature described?" In so far as the productive power of these persons of great wealth consists of their ability to do any kind of labor, mental or physical, they are probably not on a par with the "class who are simply at ease." They are confessedly "outside of the professional and technical ranks." Hence their power to render assistance (?) must be sought in the fact of their possessing illegitimate wealth; and upon careful analysis it will be very clear that the assistance these persons of great wealth render experimental enterprises is of a *negative* character. They are induced to *permit* these activities. They kindly *get out of the way* and in some degree *cease to obstruct* them. They *release some of the opportunities* for carrying on such enterprises. The opportunities were originally provided by nature, but our laws sanction private property in them; hence when the people of the "professional and technical ranks," the people who know how to make use of natural opportunities, and who have the disposition to do so, wish to apply their skill to land, which includes all natural opportunities, they have to make terms with the "persons of great (illegitimate) wealth" before they can get access to the other factor of production.

M. Beaulieu sees clearly that the "persons of great wealth have large opportunities for usefulness" in kindly permitting the two factors of production, land and labor, to come together, in special cases such as he has described. It is to be hoped that he will continue his researches until he sees what an immense opportunity for usefulness these privileged persons of great wealth have in getting out of the way of *all* production and distribution. It is hardly to be expected that these privileged

gentlemen can ever be induced to do this voluntarily, but what a great day it will be for our race when even professors of political economy *understand* the social effect of illegitimate wealth. Is it possible that the poor, ignorant, pitied laboring classes are to discover that landlordism is parasitism; that a special legal privilege is an abomination; and that they will abolish private appropriation of ground rent and revenues from public monopolies before eminent professors of political economy apprehend the principle involved? Is the sole function of political economy and ethics to await the evolution of social progress and then record its history?

M. Beaulieu continues, "A second social function of wealth is found in enterprises requiring patronage and remunerative philanthropy. The term 'remunerative philanthropy' may have an odd sound to some persons." It is encouraging to note that the professor is conscious of the incongruity of this expression. He proceeds to describe a number of mild charities under this head. We in America are quite familiar with the soup-house idea. It is not peculiar to French privileged philanthropists alone to return to producers, under the guise of milk-and-water philanthropy, an infinitesimal fraction of the wealth extorted from them by legalized appropriation of rent and public franchises.

When will the simplicity of the problem of wealth be recognized? We have, on the one hand, the land with its inexhaustible resources; on the other hand, men with their varying power and dispositions to convert these resources into wealth. Between these two simple factors we have monopoly. The terms dictated by monopoly to the masses of men as the price of access to the land are: "Compete with each other for the privilege of access. Access can be had by those who can pay the most." The monopolists need no chattel slavery laws—ownership of the earth is more effective than ownership of persons. The hunger of the unemployed is more effective than the whips and blood-hounds of slave-owners.

M. Beaulieu has described many of the natural activities of free men. A nation of men having *equal access* to land (land

meaning all of nature outside of man) will produce wealth freely, and, with modern knowledge and implements, in great abundance. All genuine capital is derived from the land, and with equal access to it men will provide themselves with capital. It is not strange that with special privileges the privileged classes get nearly all of the capital. With equal access to land there will be no very great disparity between men as regards their capital. Under conditions of equal access to land, men, individually and coöperatively, will carry on experimental as well as more ordinary enterprises. What will hinder them? Under such conditions men will travel and explore. They will see not only Africa and Asia, but their own countries as well—something very few can do now. The abolition of private appropriation of ground rent and other privilege revenues means the public retention of them, and with these revenues museums, schools, observatories, public parks, etc., can be maintained. The people will not need charity collectively any more than they will individually, under conditions of economic justice.

My contentions are, first, that the social function of *genuine wealth* is to serve men—to enhance their comfort and happiness; second, *illegitimate wealth* has no proper function. Its existence is the world-wide cause of poverty and distress. It is the fundamental evil of society. It should be abolished. The single tax will abolish it.

L. G. BOSTEDO.

MACHINERY AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION.

BY J. M. H. FREDERICK.

WHITHER are we tending? What of the future? Will it be evolution or revolution; and if revolution, will it be peaceful or violent? These and a multitude of other kindred questions burst from the lips of representatives of all classes, who in wonder and amazement behold the marvelous transformations which are taking place in our industrial and social conditions. Of one thing nearly all seem to be agreed: Some great change is in store for us. What that change will be and how it will be wrought, however, are questions on which many differences of opinion are entertained.

Evolution or revolution, which? What if it shall prove to be both? What if the latter shall come as the fruitage of the former? "Revolution has always been the last word, the capstone, of evolution," rang out the words of Jules Guesde in a recent speech on the floor of the French Chamber of Deputies. "Do you imagine," he continued, "that the Revolution of 1789 was improvised by writers, or by encyclopedists? A far-reaching economic evolution was brought on by the discovery of America, by the commerce that then sprang up, and by the introduction of the first machines." The French Revolution of 1789 came as the inevitable consequence. In the great political and social changes which mark the course of nations, the question may be asked, if men have not played rather the parts of agents than of improvisors and creators. "The Revolution is the work of the Unknown," said Victor Hugo; "call it good or bad, as you yearn toward the Future or the Past."

"The logic of events" is a by no means uncommon expression in the utterances of the advocates of the new political economy. Mark you, it is not the *logic of men*, but the *logic of events* that is

held up for our consideration. Oliver Cromwell suggested that revolutions are not necessarily born of men when he said: "Be careful, sirs, how you judge God's revolutions as the products of man's invention!" With the great Napoleon the word was Destiny. Invention, the product more of man's inspiration than of his laborious efforts and carefully weighed plans, is rapidly working out new conditions, the "logic" of which points to a revolution—a revolution whose grandeur and peaceful accomplishment will depend upon the ready acceptance and non-resistance by man of the fruits of the present evolution. Left to its own natural course, it will effect its own great changes peacefully; but obstructed and impeded by human resistance, who can say what destruction may not result! Congresses may regulate, general assemblies may legislate, courts may adjudicate, and individuals may agitate; but at the most, with all their effort they will only change the course of the river of progress; they are quite unable to prevent its final outlet to the sea.

The endeavors of legislators and courts to check the growth of monopoly have always proved abortive if we are to consider them in the light of their permanent results. If this tendency is interfered with in one place, it merely shows itself in a more formidable aspect elsewhere. Anti-trust legislation has had the effect of simply inducing large capitalistic interests to *combine* rather than to *associate* themselves together. The trusts are subject to special legislation; the giant corporations which are supplanting the trusts are not. They stand before the law the same as any other corporation. Such legislation has so far resulted merely in forcing capital into stronger and more formidable combinations even than the dreaded trust itself. Quite as fruitless would be any attempted interference with the application of new and improved machinery to production. Inventive genius cannot be circumscribed by human laws. Every attempt to check its free operation will simply result in greater prodigies. Until recently, however, comparatively few have expressed any desire to limit in any manner the free play of inventive minds. The wonderful inventions of the century

until very recently have been most welcome. Every new discovery has been hailed as a blessing to mankind. But has it been a blessing? John Stuart Mill said: "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." And John Ruskin has written in this melancholy strain:

> Though England is deafened with spinning wheels, her people are not clothed; though she is black with the digging of coal, her people die with cold; though she has sold her soul for gain, they die of hunger.

Wealth production has increased with marvelous rapidity, yet the masses are far from comfortable. Nay, the more rapidly our wealth-producing capacity is enlarged, the more wretched the poverty of the poor becomes. This was not true until comparatively recently, and political economists even within the last decade have felicitated the toiling class upon the larger adoption of labor-saving machinery. Formerly the introduction of new machines opened up new fields for labor, in some instances creating a demand for labor in excess of the labor saved. To-day the new mechanical devices create a very small demand for labor compared with that dispensed with. Years ago this state of affairs was foretold by some nonconformist economic writers, but the "orthodox" economists seemed to behold in invention little else than profit to all parties concerned. Hardships to the laborer frequently resulted from the adoption of a new machine, but these were generally regarded as only temporary defects, which time would rectify.

The progress of invention has been welcomed also by the most progressive school of economic thought, but for a very different reason. These social philosophers have not beheld in it a direct and immediate benefit to the toiling masses, it is true; quite the contrary is the light in which they have regarded it. "Matters must grow worse before they will become permanently better," they have argued, "and the machine is working its change according to this law." Largely through machinery one half of our people are miserable because they have too much to do, while the other half are wretched because they cannot find

enough to do. Thus by our remarkable social system the work of genius which should free the laborers from excessive burdens, and bless all those so set free, has made slaves of the workers and beggars of the millions who are in enforced idleness.

Slavery in America was not forever abolished when the black ceased to be the property of the white man. A worse form of serfdom has succeeded. The master and owner fed, housed, and generally cared for the needs of the chattel slave because he had hundreds of dollars invested in him. The master has no such incentive to care for the machine-made slave of to-day. If the modern slave sickens and dies, there is no financial loss to the master. His place is promptly filled from the countless employment seekers. Before the Civil War black men and women sold for many hundreds of dollars each; to-day white men, if placed on an auction block, would not bring pennies where the blacks brought dollars. Indeed, the task-master of to-day simply does not want a title to the laborer's body—would rather not have it, in fact—for such a title would carry with it uselessly burdensome responsibilities. To be "master of the situation," to control the wages of the laborer, is a far more convenient form of slavery.

Aristotle argued that slavery of many was necessary in order that the few "citizens" of ancient Greece might enjoy the pursuits of philosophy, and he declared that to this end slavery must continue until the day of the machine. The machine was to be the last slave. Throughout the 2,200 years since Aristotle lived the slavery of the many has continued in order that the few might enjoy the pursuits of philosophy as in Greece, of ambition as in Rome, or of greed as in America. The collectivist beholds the laborer supplanted by machinery and rejoices, for he reasons that all this leads to the coöperative commonwealth, in which the machine will be the only slave, and all will be free to devote the greater share of their time to the cultivation of their natural bent, and to the development of their nobler and better natures. Invention seems to be directing evolution to this end, and if a revolution at the final stage is required, let us hope that it may be more peaceful and less

cruel than has been the evolutionary development leading up to it.

Every year new machinery is throwing out of employment armies of men, while as a rule supplying in return no corresponding demand for labor. The number of printers in the United States thrown out of employment by the introduction of typesetting machinery in the last year is estimated at about 4,000, and there is no corresponding demand for labor provided by this change. A writer in the *Typographical Journal* makes the following statement bearing directly on this phase of the question:

> Fifteen machines will do the work of forty-five printers. It requires 90 days' labor to produce one of these machines. Each one will save 730 days of hand labor a year, or 90 days subtracted as the labor cost of the machine leaves a clear gain of 640 days' labor over hand typesetting.

To any one seeking to understand the social question it is far from satisfactory to be told that the printers thrown out of employment "will find employment elsewhere," as we are sometimes given to understand. With millions already out of work in our country, we must confess that the outlook for work in some other branch of industry is by no means promising. The printers' dream, that this change would present its compensating features in the way of cheaper and larger newspapers and more of them, has proved an idle one. Even now the "market is overstocked" with newspapers, and as for size, that, too, already is well-nigh overdone. The cheapness of the work done by the machine is also tending still further to narrow the scope of "the art preservative of all arts." The price of the machines being out of the reach of the generality of newspaper proprietors in the smaller cities and towns, there is a tremendous advantage in favor of the metropolitan dailies, which already in many places by their special editions are beginning to supplant the local publications.

The publishers of the great dailies with their tens of thousands, and in some instances hundreds of thousands of "circulation," are able to lay down their complete, "all-around" newspaper at a cost very little in excess of what the small publisher

must pay for the plain white paper. Besides being beyond competition in point of excellence as a general newspaper, the expense of the great daily in getting out its local edition for neighboring cities is inconsiderable when compared to the cost to which the local newspaper publisher necessarily is put. This centralization of newspaper publication is not at an end, however. In fact, it looks very much as if the most remarkable phase is yet to be developed. With rapid transit approaching 100 miles an hour, and with other improved means of rapid transmission of intelligence, there promises soon to exist little excuse for the publication of the local daily newspapers in the small towns. I am informed that extensive publishers have for some time had under consideration a scheme whereby it is proposed to publish all newspapers from the large centers of population.

The president and general manager of the largest printing establishment on the western continent in a recent conversation with the writer observed: "There is no longer any money in the publication of newspapers in small towns." Then referring to the proposed plan to publish from the large cities all local newspapers for the smaller towns, he said: "Yes, we have discussed that question." When newspaper-making shall have developed to this point, there will be still more thousands of printers tramping the streets of our great cities, trudging along our miserable country roads, and traveling by "blind baggage" or "side door Pullmans" in search of "employment elsewhere."

Until now the printer has congratulated himself that he was secure in all but "straight composition," meaning that the setting of display type, italics, advertisements, and job work was quite out of the inventor's reach. But so thought he not so very long ago in regard to the present newspaper typesetting machine. It could not be generally adopted in the large newspapers, he insisted. Nevertheless the experimental stage of this labor-saver is past. But scarcely is its success proclaimed before announcement is made of the advent of a new machine which will crush the last hope of the "hand compositor." The new

invention, it is said, will set Roman, italic, and display type, and is so far superior to those machines now in use that all others will be thrown upon the scrap pile. It is not for me to declare in advance that this machine will accomplish all that has been claimed for it. It matters little whether this particular invention will or will not meet in all respects the expectations of its friends. Suffice it to say that the step from this present machine to such as is purported to be about to be placed in the field is small indeed compared to the giant leap from hand composition to the mechanical devices already in successful operation.

To be sure there is some advantage in being able to purchase to-day a larger and better newspaper for one cent than a short time ago we were able to procure for two or three cents, but even this has no charm to him who "has not the price."

In the great iron mills the new "electric crane" throws out of employment twelve "heaters," twenty-four helpers, three "dinky" engines, three firemen, and three engineers on each turn, besides effecting quite a saving in fuel. It was only five years ago that the Jones "charger" threw out of work thirty-six men for every machine introduced, and now comes the "electric crane," which will throw the "charger" upon the scrap heap besides displacing upwards of forty additional men for every machine in use. The demand for iron has not materially increased since the introduction of the "crane" and the manufacture of this piece of mechanism gives employment to few, if any, more hands than those required to make a Jones "charger," which it displaces. The prospect for the addition of many thousands from the ranks of the iron-workers to the army of the unemployed is very bright! A number of mills, it is said, have been compelled to shut down, owing to their inability to appropriate this labor-saving improvement to their use. A monopoly of the iron trade is fast being created and ere long there will remain only a few mills in the land. The folly of competition has become very apparent, and the economy of combination has been demonstrated.

It has been figured out that 142,285 shoe workers now do as

much by the help of the machine as 2,250,000 could have done by the hand process; that is, one worker now does as much as fifteen did formerly. Whether this has been a direct blessing to the laboring class may be judged when it is considered that the price of shoes has not fallen nor the capacity to consume increased in any such proportion.

In his report of 1886 on "Industrial Depressions" United States Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright admits that the claim that new machinery "displaces labor temporarily cannot be successfully denied." He reasons, however, that in the long run labor is benefited. On this the socialistic economist will agree with him, but he will maintain that the "long run" must end in a coöperative order of society. Mr. Wright furnishes figures showing that 600 employees in manufactories of agricultural implements in 1886 were "doing the work which under former conditions would have required 2,145 employees." Of course the cheapening of the articles manufactured has largely increased the demand for them, and thus the number produced has been enlarged. Nevertheless the facts go to show that the result of this progress in manufacture has been to lessen the force of men actually engaged. Two years ago a gentleman interested in a large manufactory of certain mower and reaper devices informed me that by the use of improved machinery his company had been enabled with one half the number of hands employed five years previously to turn out three times as large a product. In the last two years the same company has put in machinery much improved over that formerly in use, and now boys and "low-priced" men are able to turn out the work which a few years ago required "well-paid" skilled mechanics to perform, and with even greater despatch.

In coal-mining the machine is driving the hand-worker to desperate straits and displacing many by reason of its capacity to produce beyond the demands of the trade.

A striking instance of the displacement of labor by invention is found in the oil industry. Commissioner Wright's report cited above has this to say of the effect of the pipe line:

> In the early days of petroleum every barrel of the liquid had to be

hauled from the wells to the railroad, sometimes a distance of ten or fifteen miles. All this work is now done by the National Transit Company, controlled by the Standard Oil Company. When a well is completed, the pipe line's agent connects the well in a few minutes with its main line's tanks. The producer or the owner of the well pays nothing for having his oil transported through the pipe lines, but pays fifty cents per day storage for every thousand barrels he has in the tanks of the company, and the consumer or refiner pays twenty cents per barrel upon the receipt of the oil for transportation, so far as Pittsburg and vicinity are concerned, while the receiver for New York and distant places pays something more. Some of the producing territory is quite remote, and ten barrels per day would be a very liberal average to allow for a team of horses to transport to the railroads. On this basis the pipe lines displace 5,700 teams of horses and double that number of men in handling the oil, the production of the country being placed at 57,000 barrels per day.

Mr. Wright estimated in 1886 that four men and six girls then did the work in the manufacture of paper which was formerly performed by 100 men, and "in the manufacture of wall paper the best evidence puts the displacement in the proportion of 100 to 1." This statement was made nine years ago. Since that time great improvement has been made in the art of paper-making. A small manufacturer a few days ago bewailed to me the calamity which had befallen his business by the construction of a mammoth paper mill whose expensive and excellent machinery, together with its convenient location relative to water and power, will make competition with it by small concerns an utter impossibility. Machinery is in this manner concentrating the manufacture of paper into a few hands, and the long-discussed combination of paper mills may not be far distant. And then, what? More idle men, of course.

For years capitalists have been scheming to secure control of the mighty force of Niagara Falls and utilize it in supplying eastern cities with power.

Caillard in his "Electricity, the Science of the Nineteenth Century" observes:

> The continual regret of electrical engineers is the amount of energy running to waste in our streams and rivers, their dream for the future being that as electrical transmission of power becomes better understood and more easily available over long distances, the water power of every country may be found sufficient for its needs.

Apropos of this quotation Wilbur Aldrich in his book, "Farming Corporations," says:

> It is stated that even now capitalists have agents traveling through the country, buying up water privileges for mere songs in anticipation of the time when the people can be therewith made to pay them enormous revenues.

Who shall set down as a visionary him who dares to predict that power will be transmitted at no very distant day from the water falls, oil territory, or coal fields directly to the point at which it is to be applied, through the agency of a slender wire? Who is there to question that instead of transmitting coal by cars, if continued to be used at all, it will be converted into electric force at the very mines, and so transmitted wherever desired? What a saving of labor would result! Locomotive, as well as stationary, engineers and firemen would suddenly awake and find a greatly diminished demand for their skilled labor. Tens of thousands would be unable to find work; retail coal-dealers would be forced to "seek employment elsewhere," and the teams and teamsters who now convey the "black diamonds" to factory and private coal bins would be likewise out of work; for when that time shall have arrived, heating, cooking, and lighting by electricity will have become universal.

And after that, if it should suit the purposes of capital to utilize the water power of our streams or the oil and gas supply, instead of coal, what an army of unemployed would march forth from the abandoned mines!

The methods of hand culture on the farm have largely given place to labor-saving machinery, and the demand for farm labor has accordingly diminished. The gang plow, the horse drill, planter, stone gatherer, manure spreader, potato digger, corn harvester, the corn-husking machine, the self-binder, the combined header and separator, the mower, and almost innumerable other farm implements of late have increased and cheapened production at the expense of the demand for farm labor. Milking machines have been used with some success, and it is predicted by some that ere long the large dairies which can afford to purchase machines will be supplied with a contrivance which will

extract the milk from a whole dairy in from five to ten minutes.

The electric motor has already cut all profit out of common horse flesh. Horses such as ten years ago sold readily for from $50 to $75 each are now bought up for $1.50 to $2 each, to be ground up for fertilizer.

The present well-to-do tiller of the soil may hold on for some time yet, but farming corporations, the bonanza farmers, have set a pace which he will find is very difficult long to maintain.

A phase of the question which has been very indifferently treated as a rule is the relation which the productive power of industry bears to the consuming capacity of society. I am not ignorant of the declaration of some progressists that there is no over-production, and can be none so long as there are those in our midst who suffer hunger and cold. The truthfulness of this doctrine, of course, rests upon the definition of the term. Their objection is more a play upon words than a contention of ideas. I desire to be understood in what I may say relative to this phase of the subject. This term will be held to cover all production beyond the desire and ability of society to purchase. Over-production in this sense may exist alongside of what is properly known as under-consumption. The consuming power of some is limited below their actual needs because of their inability to procure more. At the same time in the very same neighborhood there may exist an over-production of the very articles of which many stand in need.

But whatever may be said as to the meaning of terms, the situation remains the same. Whenever there is not a demand for goods in the open market (that is, no money demand) equal to the supply, we may be said to experience an over-production. Mill admitted that it was abstractly conceivable that more *might* be produced than people would desire to consume. He maintained, however, that the mere fact that people went on producing showed that they wished to exchange their produce. Notwithstanding all the millions of needy "out-of-works" in America, it is questionable if even now the production of wealth under an equitable distributive system would not equal every demand. If this is true, to put all to work would certainly be

to produce a condition of plethora. Manufacturers would not long continue to pile up their wares, knowing that there would be a sale for only a portion of them. The desire to exchange their produce, to which Mill refers, would not prompt them to continue long in such a course of folly. Since Mill gave expression to this idea conditions have greatly changed. The trust was unknown to Mill. The desire of people to exchange their produce cuts a very small figure in any industry controlled by one of these giant capitalistic associations. The trust or the inclusive and exclusive corporations are able to determine the limit of production in their line, or to gauge it according to the demand.

That invention is hastening the formation of combines seems obvious. Says Prof. J. S. Nicholson :

> That the division of labor involved in using machinery necessarily leads to concentration of industry, was first shown by Babbage. What Babbage proved only theoretically has since been amply verified by experience.

The formation of trusts puts an end to over-production in these lines. Manufacturers cease to turn out wares in the hope of getting possession of a larger portion of the market, for the market is already wholly their own. Competitors no longer rush madly forward as before, each ignorant of what the other is doing, for there are no competitors. Combines and trusts limit production to the market demand for their goods. Over-production no longer embarrasses the situation. By limiting production a limit is also set to the demand for labor. The army of the unemployed is again increased, and the consuming power is once more lessened. Skilled labor gives way to unskilled labor ; strong men are supplanted by women and children ; and with the army of starving unemployed ever ready in their desperation to take the first employment which may be open to them, those at any time employed have scant reason to hope to force wages higher. Reductions follow reductions and the workers are impotent to prevent.

How to care for the unemployed is a problem which the thinking people of our land are compelled to face, reluctantly or

otherwise; but face it they must. It is not reasonable to suppose that these enforced idlers will quietly starve to death; and the alms-givers will soon tire of the "fad" of finding those who are not able to care for themselves. The alternative is that the state must make provision for them; and this requirement will force the government to adopt one of two policies: The state may treat these unfortunates as paupers and so make of them an onerous charge on the actual wealth-producers; or it may employ them at some productive industry, where, with their honor unscathed, they may bear their own burdens. Popular sentiment and popular reason would not long consent that they should be employed simply for the sake of "giving them something to do." They must become self-supporting, and to become so they must be employed at some wealth-producing industry.

Such an arrangement, however, would involve a new factor in the field of industry. No private corporation could compete with the government. The capitalist would be compelled to retire. His former employees would demand that the state give them employment, and their behests could not be ignored. Transformation would follow transformation in rapid succession, until all important industry would be in the hands of the government, and all persons of reasonable age employed by it. A short work day would follow naturally.

Machinery is to be the last slave. It will succeed the wage slave, just as the wage slave has taken the place of the chattel slave. By its centralizing tendency it is hastening monopoly to its doom. Hardships and great suffering will mark the period of transition, it is true. The misery which the shifting of the burdens of industry from the back of one slave to that of another necessarily involves may cause the inventor to be heartily hated and the product of his genius to be roundly cursed during the last stages of this industrial evolution; but future generations will surely point to the Age of Machinery with sincere gratitude. It will be regarded as the epoch in which the last form of human slavery was abolished, in which want vanished, social misery was rendered unnecessary, and crime was relegated to the oblivion of the barbaric past.

J. M. H. FREDERICK.

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

BY PROF. GARRETT W. THOMPSON.

IN these closing days of the nineteenth century, when its accounts are being squared and all things held before the light of critical retrospection, the durability of the American Republic has been called into question and subjected to a rigid and far-reaching scrutiny. In so far as it has emanated from critics, whose bias of judgment makes it difficult for them to reach and maintain the level of candor, this scrutiny has been harmful; when directed by motives of patriotism and a sincere desire to know the truth, it has been helpful, for whatever be our opinion as to the existence of real national dangers, the mere possibility of them, when brought to our notice, should occasion such reflections in all thoughtful minds as would not pause until the exact truth of the situation be known.

But it is no easy task to urge on a people surrounded by apparently universal prosperity the acceptance of radical ideas respecting the possible disruption of their republic, or to find any who see in the life about them real cause for alarm; nor is the task by any means lightened when we note the cogent reasons presented by President Eliot in a recent number of *The Forum* for believing in the perpetuity of the republic—so conscious of power are we as a nation. Be that, however, as it may, safe in the historical fact that the value of ideas is not to be tested by their acceptance or rejection at popular hands, we may at least essay an investigation, dropping the premonitory hint to the over-confident that national decay is no new phenomenon in world history and our republic has no surety of survival apart from its own earnest efforts.

In all attempts at comparing the republics of Rome and America, two fundamental differences must be borne in mind

—the one in the formation of government, the other in the structure of society.

Rome was a city. Whether we view her in the period of her inception as the central home of a few tribes, or in the broadest intent and extent of her supremacy, so long as her power really endured she was a city and from that city her authority always emerged. After the overthrow of the kings an elective administration was established; but as its basis was birth, popular government, under these circumstances, was an obvious impossibility, and could be effected only by that series of remarkable civil conquests which in the end brought the commons to a political level with the aristocrats. In the brilliant but unenviable achievements by arms which followed, Italy and all surrounding peoples fell under the domination of Rome; and it was in the disposition of these acquisitions that Rome first showed the incapacity of management which was so potent a factor in her downfall.

It may be imagined that these conquered peoples looked with little joy on their gradual absorption by the Roman power. There was nothing spontaneous in their relation to the empire, and while they incorporated much of Roman life and civilization, still there was always an undercurrent of hostility which Roman influence could never wholly check. Then, too, Rome was false to her duty as a true republic in that she did not allow the remoter parts of her dominion popular representation at the capital; in fact it was impossible for the rural citizen even to participate in elections with regularity, for these always occurred at Rome and a journey to the city for the mere purpose of voting was not merely difficult but yielded absolutely no advantage.

If now we turn to America, we see a republic inaugurated by the indomitable courage of those who resolved to enjoy in the New World the principles for which they had suffered in, and fled from, the Old. There was no distinction of birth but an equality of political, religious, and social freedom.

By heroic perseverance a constitution was drafted which created a central government and still reserved to each state the

enjoyment of all consistent rights, knitting the two elements together by a just and popular representation at the nation's capital.

Is it not then clear that Rome stifled the very spirit that America's *régime* was certain to expand? On the one hand, a heterogeneous mass of peoples held together by the sheer mechanism of a military system, without representation, stunted in their economic growth by the oppression of a highly centralized power, blunted in their vision of human rights till their dim ideal of freedom was submission to Roman law; on the other hand, a people whose government incarnates the loftiest conception of individual liberty consistent with the common good; whose conditions of citizenship offer every inducement to the attainment of a high degree of economic success—there can be but one result; in the former case an entire absence of patriotism, in the latter, encouragement for the fullest measure of it that any age has yet enjoyed.

Again, in the structure of society how different the two republics!

The political destitution which prevailed among the Roman people carried with it the concomitant neglect of their material interests. The early seizure of public lands by wealthy politicians drove to the wall that vast class of honest laborers which we call small farmers. The absolute control, assumed by these unscrupulous men of commerce, public domains, and the income from the provinces; the coöperation with them of the venal senate and still more corrupt government; the utter disregard by the legislative bodies of the needs and rights of the masses; the introduction of slaves as the cheapest form of labor—these are causes which doomed Roman society to early and complete decay. It was simply impossible for the average man to make a living. Hence he gave up the struggle, wandered to the city, and became a pauper subsisting on public charity.

In direct consequence of such short-sighted policy, the very class of people disappeared whose well-being American institutions are most adequate to enhance—the great middle class.

In America, as in no other country, is it possible for the aver-

age man to maintain a hopeful existence. Our lands are judiciously parceled out; commercial advantages abound for him who has energy enough to use them, and in all branches of mercantile activity there is ample chance for one and all. If we recall the great facilities for self-instruction and general information offered by our system of public schools, colleges, and the influence of the pulpit and press—all so entirely democratic in their accessibility—it is easy to see that the middle class holds the balance of power in prosperity and happiness. Intelligent in the enjoyment of its material and social privileges, and invigorated by the consciousness of the power of suffrage as granted by a truly popular government, this class is the vital force of the American Republic, and against it neither the highest nor the lowest class can ever permanently prevail. Whether its will finds expression through the ballot, press, or any public medium of communication, its voice is known as public opinion, and in its proper function is the transcendent embodiment of democratic principles.

In crushing the vitality of her middle class, Rome committed veritable suicide, for she thereby abrogated the sole policy which can unite human society on the basis of peace; and in trusting to an artificial military authority destroyed chart and compass and became a prey to the winds of a self-imposed destiny.

But America stands unique in her popular control of national affairs. The radical political upheavals, which the history of the past few years records, are but the sharp rebuke of public opinion against those who dare ignore its wishes. All changes, indeed, follow its voice, and reforms are possible only when stamped with its approval. To it belongs the glory of our best achievements; upon it also rests full responsibility for all the evils which exist among us. Hence the condition of public opinion, if we are to trace the causes for apprehension for our country's future, is precisely the proper subject of our present investigation, and we will pursue it most clearly by noticing five dangers whose growth seems to menace our national stability.

First, Failure to comprehend that there is no republic or government apart from the concrete condition of the people who compose it.

There is a widely prevalent conviction that the American Republic is destined somehow to endure, and that its life at any given time is not directly conditioned by the attitude and contribution of the generation of that time. Listen to the testimony of the average man: "The foundation of America was attended by most propitious circumstances. In addition to the sober, determined spirit with which men labored to establish a government which should guarantee individual liberty, difficulties, which gathered and seemed insuperable by human means, were time and again removed by agencies that point unmistakably to the certainty of Divine coöperation. In all those crises where disruption seemed inevitable—or rather union impossible—right has prevailed and we have emerged from it all apparently the stronger for the experience. We are not embarrassed, as other nations are, by limitation of territory, nor are we contiguous to other powers where clash of interest and ambition might be a fruitful source of trouble. Again, our material development is little short of marvelous. Abundance meets us on every side. We see everywhere cities springing up, buildings erected, factories throbbing with life, the soil yielding all sorts of wealth with no indication of exhaustion. Our working class is better paid and better kept than is possible in any other country, and if one adds to these elements of strength mention of the hopefulness and happiness which seem to reign, where is there reasonable cause for alarm?"

Such, I believe, is the easy-going optimism upon which the average man builds his views of national life; it begets a confidence which varies in intensity of expression from a feeble complacency to an undignified braggadocio. It reaches its dangerous culmination in an attitude of non-interference in public affairs, on the ground that they are relegated to the control of men of special adaption who give general assurance of competency in their administration. His conceptions of government and power are embodied in the expressions, "government at Washington," "men in power," "the authorities," "officers." His philosophy amounts to a declaration that the American Republic will continue to prosper regardless of what

the present generation is doing; that there is an abstract government which will perdure irrespective of the condition of the actual government; that there is an abstract Congress which will maintain and enact good laws however much the concrete Congress may defy popular demands; that there is an abstract prosperity and strength of endurance which are in no way affected by the concrete condition of the masses. In his opinion, all public problems are solved *somehow;* all perils are removed by a power of government which exists *somewhere* and needs only the pressure of occasion to be summoned forth and exercised by *somebody* with every assurance of ultimate success!

When will we learn that there is no power in our republic apart from public opinion individualized in our "average man," and that the "government at Washington" and all "authorities" are merely the *agents* of public opinion, and have no meaning or power except as conferred by public opinion to do its will?

Upon those who rejoice in the republic's ability (as an element of strength) to emerge from those dark trials which seemed certain to engulf it, the truth must be impressed that the strength of our country is not to be found in its power, in the face of a crisis, to summon all its force in a mighty effort to survive it, but rather in the normal daily working of all those forces which permeate our national life and carry us, individually and collectively, up a gradual acclivity of progress and amelioration. He is not healthy who is able to resist the onset of a fever, while at other times for the most part he enjoys no uninterrupted period of physical soundness, but rather he whose functional processes are so regular that he maintains an average normal condition of health.

But chiefly should one point out the fallacy and fatality of the doctrine that the life of the republic is separable from that of the people themselves. Do we not elect by popular suffrage all those who shape the course of our government? Do we not select candidates before such elections? Is not then the government the direct result of our own choosing and are we not immediately responsible for its character?

There is no such thing as popular non-interference in public affairs. The very attitude bearing that name is a direct participation but so negative and morbid that it retards the growth of real progress and keeps the state only in greater jeopardy. Each citizen is a microcosm of the republic; its disgrace is his individual shame and its glory his individual joy.

Thus the application of military force to labor troubles is an entirely artificial procedure, which, while it temporarily vindicates the authority of the state, is in the end an incessant cause of mutual irritation. The only solution is such a thoughtful participation by all in the cause as shall establish a fair relation between employer and employed whose only possibility of failure can be in the dogged refusal of either party to accede to rational demands. New York City has learned, and taught the world, how necessary it is for all good men to work together hopefully, earnestly, incessantly for the attainment of good government. The plain question to-day is: Are good men willing to endure the inconvenience and sacrifice which good government necessitates? At any rate, the government will reflect the exact condition of the people.

Second, Liberty and freedom are not yet comprehended in their full and proper meaning.

The enjoyment of individual liberty as a human right is limited practically to the nineteenth century. When we reflect that resolution to possess it caused our ancestors to embark on the perilous venture of settling in the New World it is, perhaps, not unnatural that the pendulum of prerogative swung too far the other way; at any rate let us hope that the maximum oscillation has been reached.

Liberty is freedom to act, but it is not irresponsible action nor may it violate with impunity those conditions which alone will maintain national equilibrium. It is a universal experience that physical liberty is possible only by duly obeying the laws of health, and any reckless exposure or temerity leads at once to the destruction of all physical liberty. So the enjoyment of civic liberty depends on conditions as uncompromising as they are clear. A citizen is both an individual and a member of the

community. How far he may exercise his private rights and remain true to duty is determined by vocation and environment, but one thing is *always true*—his duty to the community comes first. And failure of his whole obligation disturbs the entire social organism.

Just here lies the danger to the republic. The latitude of law affords the individual the widest range of privileges. These he is not slow to accept. He at once establishes himself firmly in a position of personal power; then, exactly reversing the proper relation, he seeks to adjust the community to his own attitude by any means which will not jeopardize the security of his own power. In this he puts his personal ambition before obligation to his environment. We call it selfishness in private life, but in this discussion it is a quality whose effect is quite as pernicious as its indulgence is inexcusable. How generally diffused is this perverted idea of liberty may find illustration in the flagrant manipulation of stocks which involves the ruin of so many undeserving victims. Subscription to stock is an act of trust which at once commits the heads of companies to a position of moral responsibility and marks plainly their duty to the community. It is useless to cite the numerous cases in which individual selfishness has prevailed and the community suffered—often to the extent of utter destitution.

Were this spirit found only in business life it could hardly find a place in this discussion. It pervades, unfortunately, our whole political fabric. In bossism we have the highest (or lowest!) idealization of this nefarious principle. Readers are entirely familiar, through the press, with all the bold forms in which bossism has manifested itself; hence concrete examples would doubtless fail of utility and instruction. But when we find almost all our large cities under the domination of unscrupulous schemers; our highest politics not untainted by the influence of reckless chicanery; prominent men, in open defiance of popular will, controlling matters of the most vital municipal importance according to their ambition or advantage—when, I say, these facts are too evident to escape even indifferent notice, there is justification for feelings of deep apprehension—nay

more, it is time to cry, Enough! From men openly committed to demagogism it is folly to expect a righteous or impartial administration, and if we are to anticipate an indefinite period of boss-government the outlook simply must be one of deterioration. And yet men believe in popular non-interference!

Third, Lack of respect for authority.

There is no danger so woven into our national fiber or so pernicious in its effects as that which lurks in our attitude toward the mandates of authority—they, the agents of public opinion! And, strangely enough, it is, in large measure, directly traceable to the first home influences which children encounter when they merge into the conscious life of early youth. Few realize the extent to which the modern method of rearing children (more prevalent in cities than in the country) fosters the development of abnormal self-consciousness. They are committed to the mechanical care of nurses or grow up under the pampering indulgence of over-fond parents. In the most plastic season of their lives, when impressions and habits form the bases of the principles which govern their whole after life, their whims are everywhere indulged and their defiance nowhere confronted by firm discipline, so that the child—innocently enough, perhaps—learns to expect to conquer in all conflicts where its desires cross the will of its parents. Children are moreover permitted at astonishingly tender ages to "enter society," don the conventional evening dress, and perform all those social functions which can be intelligently enjoyed only by those of maturer years. Is it not true that that pure, refreshing, spontaneous period of child-life, which should be given up to innocent games and the formation of observing habits, drops entirely out of their lives and they leap from undeveloped childhood into a career far beyond their mental and moral capacity and reach the quarter-century mark world-wise, *blasé*, and misshapen?

In maturity this early defiance of correction finds a scarcely milder form in the conviction, too prevalent, that law and authority are not the final instruments of government but only that law and authority, or that interpretation thereof, which seem right to the individual. Thus each becomes "a law unto him-

self," and here again freedom is entirely misapprehended and privileges assumed which proper respect for authority would necessarily preclude. The lawlessness which reigns in our western borders would occasion less surprise if the people there were in a primitive state of civilization; but when we reflect that those sections are filled largely with men who come from respectable and even Christian homes and ought therefore to have high ideals of law and order, the situation grows increasingly grave. Even college men, trained to broad conceptions of justice and good-citizenship, when once in the West, have been seized with a reckless passion for adventure which knows no rational limitation of indulgence and throws contempt on our civilization.

But let us move eastward, where our noblest institutions are said to flourish, and discuss some phases of lynch-law which has become so notorious not only in the South (be it emphasized) but dangerously near the best centers of our national life. It is useless to dwell on the enormity of the crime lynching seeks to punish or the righteous indignation which is its natural sequel. Such horrid practices carry a shock to every moral being. And yet reason, not indignation, must be our guide.

In the event of such crimes two impulses straightway press forward to gain control of action, one, on the part of the victimized, to gratify their wrath, the other, to administer due punishment to the offender.

The former could never be the ground of legal procedure nor could the penalty be made adequate to the magnitude of the outraged feelings. Personal rage at such times is as natural as it is painful, and requires the highest exercise of moral force to withstand the heat of its intensity, but its admittance as a just ground of law would be the subversion of all law, and that not even the most radical victim could desire.

The motive, adequately to punish the culprit, then, is the only legitimate one which can govern law-abiding citizens and the only legitimate instrument is due process of law.

To the first argument in defense of lynching that it evidently diminishes crime, we must answer that the end in no wise justifies the means and that in its moral effect on the country at

large such a practice can lead only to widespread demoralization and foster contempt for law. To the second plea that the casual public cannot apprehend the atrocity of the crime and the furious grief which knows no end but the immediate destruction of its cause, it must be objected that self-control, as a social virtue, transcends infinitely the gratification of anger—nay more, it is an imperative and uncompromising duty. In the third argument, that if lynching were not resorted to the punishment of the criminal would by no means be assured, we have not a justification of lynching but a most terrible arraignment of our legal *régime*. The excuse, often urged, that in lynching parties the most prominent men of the place take an active part would be ridiculous if it did not make the disgrace the more flagrant. A company of "prominent citizens," goaded by passion to an act of highest lawlessness, and a company of ignorant rioters, bent on a career of wantonness, differ only in this, that from the latter we do not expect much, while the former are false to the very principles for which they, on other occasions, unqualifiedly stand, and their deed reverberates throughout the civilized world as an echo of barbarism. The only method of punishment which civilized men can tolerate is such an enforcement of law as will insure quick and adequate treatment of such cases; and, where laws are inadequate, such a revision of them as will secure the desired end. Nothing more is possible; nothing less is just. If the energy spent in the excitement of a lynching incident were conserved and used in the proper readjustment of legal methods, this pernicious practice would fall into disuse.

The ultimate ground of such a revolutionary doctrine is lack of respect for authority; its effect on the individual is demoralization and its face is set toward anarchy. Worse still; it incapacitates us for controlling the already lawless masses which flock to our shores and rob us completely of that influence we ought, as a nation, to exert over them and the world at large for the respecting of our institutions and the upbuilding of moral character. Is the future of the Anglo-Saxon to be a by-word among the nations? The prophets foretold glories for it; were they false or true?

Fourth, The materialistic ideals of the age.

We live in a time of intense industrial activity; life all about us throbs with accelerating pulsations while the land resounds from center to circumference with the echoes of a mighty progress. The excellent conditions of living offered by the inexhaustible riches of the land, made doubly real by entire exemption from coercive governmental interference, make our republic the scene of a pacific development hitherto unsurveyed and hardly conceived by the most sanguine prophet. Indeed, we would seem to have reached the very acme of civilization and left nothing unachieved which could augment the splendor of our triumph, were not—and here we offend the incredulity of our average man—certain worse phases thereof thrusting themselves forward which give cause for apprehension where all else seems to encourage.

Few can realize or measure the gigantic proportions to which competition has grown in the last quarter century. From a former stimulating rivalry, it is now in many cases little short of an armed neutrality, where too often motives of bitter personal animosity enter and play full part. Fortunes are spent annually merely in advertising, while small business men, in not a few instances, labor harder to keep abreast of their competitors than they do to realize an actual profit. To withdraw from the field means commercial death; to remain is a struggle against odds.

Again mercantile enthusiasm is not satisfied with an ample competence; success begets a passion for larger success, and the serenity which ought to follow the attainment of a desired end is entirely absorbed in the restless ambition to be getting something more. Men rush to and from business in feverish impatience; sacrifice culture and often family life itself; lose the faculty of really enjoying recreation, whose lighter vein alone can maintain the nervous equilibrium of life; and use nature's rarest physical endowments with wild prodigality in the indulgence of their desires for a sordid gain which the majority never attain, and which never bestows on the minority the blessings so ardently craved. Our besetting sin is greed for more.

But the gratification of selfish aims in life not only insures the sacrifice of community interests and blunts the mind to a proper conception of civic responsibility; it enlists also the whole man in a struggle for mere existence and leaves neither time nor place for introspection into that inner life whence issue the springs of all that elevates us above the animal. The real national danger which magnifies the significance of this material propensity is revealed too clearly in history to need, at this point, a special elucidation. In every case where lust for gain has become the ruling passion of the public, there has resulted a loss of patriotism, and consequent loss of vitality—that unmistakable symptom of approaching dissolution. For patriotism involves a self-sacrifice and devotion to the community wholly incompatible with the aims of those whose mental world is bounded by the line of their own visual horizon. If we live Rome's life after her, we must expect to die her death.

But it is a still greater misfortune that such material conditions impress the younger generations with the idea that success in life is centered in the accumulation of wealth. To this end the young are brought up in the belief that the essential equipments of life are an adequate knowledge of mathematical reckoning and the possession of natural or acquired shrewdness. Accordingly courses of instruction are shorn of everything that lies outside these narrow limits, and boys seek to enter active careers at the earliest possible moment. Broad education and the refining influences of culture are deemed not indispensable to a successful business life, hence are to be sought, as accomplishments, only by those who have time and inclination therefor. And so the human mind is considered, Minerva-like, to have sprung into being with fully developed faculties, and to be capable, without growth or training, of steering us over that vast sea of life's real experiences on whose waves are tossed the destinies alike of men and nations.

But how can such superficial minds grasp the significance of life's great problems? Appeals to arms and physical strength, as means of settling national and international disputes, are fast giving place to more pacific methods where intelligence takes

precedence of blind force. In all the battles of the future the call will be for men of thought who are strong in the exercise of reason and candid judgment. Questions of far-reaching import will press for settlement; evils, vicious in their nature, will menace social life; perils will assail our public weal and require the most delicate adjustment. Here superficiality, conceit, and prejudice will only aggravate the danger; in the anarchy of ignorance and heat of passion the only hero of the crisis is a personified Public Mind, imbued with the teaching of history, which, calm, patient, deliberate in the consciousness of ample power, will repulse the onset of destructive forces and save the day to Right. Such a mind must come through education, broad and elevating; there is no other source.

Now set in your mind the clear duty of citizenship—the cultivation of an able and cultured public opinion; over against it set, if you will, the actual trend of public thought, contracted within the narrow limits of personal advancement; weigh the two situations in the scale of history and see if there are elements of danger.

Fifth, Feebleness of civic conscience.

The world in history has passed through three great states of consciousness. The first in ancient history records the supremacy of absolute authority. The second in medieval history marks the conflict between it and the awakening consciousness of human rights. The third in modern history notes the triumph of the individual. But while victory rests with the latter, to him also belongs henceforth the full responsibility of the situation; hence whatever conditions arise or perils menace, it is in his attitude toward them that we are to find our ground for hopefulness or despair. From this personal responsibility there is no escape; neither can it be shifted or assumed by proxy, for the evolution of history has fixed it on the individual, and if he prove unequal there is no other power to which we may appeal.

In the darkness of the early centuries when self-assertion amounted almost to a crime, and all public policy was shaped by the high-born few or directed by the will of irresponsible despots, we could not expect, on the part of the masses, any

display either of interest in, or understanding of, social problems. Nor yet in the middle centuries, amid those great movements and the mighty convulsions which took place when human thought was throbbing into action, did the average mind defy traditional authority, or trust its own power sufficiently to assume the responsibility of independent action. There was no public opinion then. But from the American who lives amid the latest products of civilization; for whom the past is replete with instruction and admonition; who enjoys the fullest privileges of free thought and expression; who reads daily in press and telegram the thoughts and deeds of all nations; who in a thousand ways is in immediate touch with the great world's heart—from him we do expect a high exercise of civic reason and the cultivation of an earnest and adequate spirit of attachment to all those ideals whose focal point is conscientious citizenship. The highest duty of the closing century is to study one's relation to society; the greatest crime is indifference.

Evil in society is not strong *per se*. The evil-doer has no moral courage because he has no moral right. He flourishes only when power for good lies dormant, and acquires boldness by the repeated success of his encroachments and failure to meet resistance. But let the right awaken and put forth a vigorous hand, he pauses and retreats before it as darkness before the advancing light. So social dangers have no inherent elements of strength; they are formidable only as they reveal the attitude of public opinion toward them, so that boldness of evil and apathy of public opinion always go hand in hand—in what astounding proportions the following facts will demonstrate. Men are raised to responsible offices and use openly the emoluments thereof for their own sordid ends; yet public conscience is passive. Men try with intolerable boldness to carry out their plans in reckless opposition to the clearly expressed will of the majority; still public conscience is not aroused. Convincing proof abounds that our cities are centers of misrule and corruption; yet evil-doers know well that the remonstrance of public opinion is short-lived and soon lapses into indifference. The public schools, our proudest institution, are managed in many

cases by men either wholly unqualified or whose sole motive is to gain from their position political advantage; yet even this arouses public conscience to no interference. Our young grow up with the conviction that greatness is not conditioned by mental and moral worthiness, but rather incarnated in that magic word—money; still public conscience does not—or will not—see the danger. We see our rising generation with no lofty aims, no love of culture for culture's sake, coming to the front to take the places of those heroes of statesmanship and literature who have glorified their country by distinguished services; and still public conscience is undisturbed. Can you overlook the danger? We have found the only power in the American Republic to be public opinion, and amid these most vital and insidious evils which assail the very fountain springs of our national life its voice is silent! Where is a Peter the Hermit who will arouse men or make them arouse themselves to a crusade against their own apathy?

Such are the dangers which threaten the perpetuity of the American Republic. Impossible, you say? Then you do not know the facts. Exaggerated, you say? Then you have not observed. One thing at least is true—America has no mortgage on existence.

In conclusion, then, if men persist in abandoning the weightier matters of public policy to a supposed executive power which history tells us no longer exists and refuse to behold the seat of authority in public opinion individualized in themselves; if they accordingly pursue a career of non-interference, and if they believe that evils will always exist in society and perhaps the least said about them the better, especially as most men seem determined to practice them; if they follow their materialistic ideal and its concomitant immorality and our public organs of thought minister to their morbid growth by furnishing sensational literature rather than educate by being the medium of only that which is pure—then we will gravitate toward a crisis whose outcome it is idle to predict.

But if, on the other hand, the individual seeks closer contact with education to broaden his intellectual vision, and with Chris-

tianity to deepen his moral insight; if he grasps the great truth of our century that increase in prosperity means increase in responsibility and that any movement toward that end is a positive good, while any movement independent of it is a positive evil; if, moreover, he is filled with increasing zeal to find and live his proper relation to the state and conceives the high purpose of attaining a dignified and loyal citizenship; if, finally, he knows no life separable from the good of the community in which he lives, then we may commend ourselves with confidence to a hopefulness which shall inspire courage, to a purpose which shall pause only at success, to an achievement which shall honor both God and man.

GARRETT W. THOMPSON.

A FARMER'S THOUGHTS ON SILVER.

BY A FARMER.

I AM glad the writers of the farmers write on politics. In the future the farmers will be more active in politics I hope, and not leave it to the farmers who farm the farmers.

The gold standard press of the East tries to make the people prejudicial against the remonetization of silver by telling them that the western people want the coinage of silver because every man of the West has his own private silver mine in his door-yard, and therefore it is only a measure of local importance, demanded by a band of swindlers, a horde of unprincipled, unpatriotic men. In regard to this I would like to say: The Northwest is a great agricultural country, very few of its inhabitants have ever seen a silver mine, in fact, thousands in the last six years have seldom seen a silver dollar. They are simply turned over to the New and Old England creditors.

The western people want the coinage of both gold and silver, because they know that with gold alone as a money metal the population of the world is and will continue to be slaves to the men who own and control the gold. Farming at present does not pay expenses, because, on account of our false monetary system and laws, the products of the farm have shrunk in value, but the interest on borrowed capital, taxes, railroad rates, etc., remain as they were during prosperous times.

The people of the West, ever since it was settled, have worked for the money lords, the railroad barons, and other robber trusts and combines. The plunder largely goes to the old countries. The farmer got poorer as he got older. To-day thousands have not a white man's living. We produce everything in plenty, the country and climate are good, the people are industrious, but, for all that, the largest number are eking out a cheerless, scanty, miserable living, because what they produce is

absorbed by the capitalists, by the railroad bond-holder, and other corporations, the majority of them living in Europe.

Statistics show that in 1894 the trans-Missouri states did not produce enough to pay the interest on the public and private debts. I am satisfied if the poor, duped, eastern factory slave, who thinks a high tariff is the only thing needed to give prosperity, could see how the farmers have to live in order to satisfy the men who demand the interest money, the railroad charges, the taxes, etc., it would dawn upon him that a tariff of any kind will not help him any as long as the people to whom he wants to sell his goods are slaves to the monopolies mentioned above. He would also find out what the majority of the western people at present know—that the tariff question was used to keep from view reform questions which would be detrimental to the New and Old England conspirators and traitors. He would also find out that those who claimed the tariff question was the only question worthy of consideration have sold this country and its people as slaves to foreign money and monarch worshipers.

Not another instance is recorded in history where a country with as great resources and inhabited with as industrious a people as the United States has, was, with or without arms, put into bondage and slavery to another nation. Laws dictated by trusts of all kinds, dishonesty and greediness of the leaders of both old parties on one hand, party worship and credulity on the part of the American voting kings, have accomplished more than England intended to do with the sword. When labor's reward is only a scanty living, with no chance of putting something aside for an emergency or old age, it is a case of slavery. The chattel slave of the South also had a living, and in many cases a happier life than the wage slave of to-day has. When the American people liberated 4,000,000 black slaves laws were created which made wage slaves out of all producers of this country.

This country is not beyond redemption, but besides an increase in the medium of exchange, it will take reform measures like government banking, ownership of transportation and communication facilities, and direct legislation. How long would we

enjoy the relief an increased money volume would give us if the natural monopolies—monopolies which our present state of civilization and environments force us to patronize—remain in the hands of private corporations? They would keep on absorbing the created wealth of the producers in the future as they have done in the past, and it would only be a question of a few years when the people would find themselves in the same straits they are in now.

The banks have shown themselves to be the arch traitors against the American people. The way they robbed the government and private individuals during the last six years (which is by no means the darkest of their record; but I refer to it because it is of recent date) ought to convince anybody that patriotism will vanish and ruin will follow where such a powerful and arrogant combination assumes rule. Therefore, let the people do the banking.

The railroads—not to mention the watered stock proposition or local grievances—are the creators of trusts and concentrated wealth. They have given rebates and privileges to great commercial and manufacturing institutions which were refused to smaller concerns. The man of comparatively small means has long ago found out that he cannot compete with the great concern. The latter, like avalanches, gain strength, greatness, and speed as time passes until they crush and annihilate the republican form of government. Let the people own this monopoly and get its service at actual cost.

The trusts and combines of all kinds are ruining and corrupting our government. In cases where they do not nominate their tools, they buy those who are nominated and elected by the people. The United States senators buy their seats in most cases, paying more than their salary amounts to. The masses elect men who have pledged themselves to be their servants, but when they arrive at the legislative halls they find plenty of lobbyists of the different trusts with plenty of boodle. The servant is now transformed into a dictator, the constituents hold indignation meetings, sign petitions, and remonstrate against the course their very humble servant is pursuing, but money is

victorious and once more the public is robbed and justice outraged.

The representative system, with the aid of the metropolitan press, has transformed this nation of independent thinkers into a lot of party worshipers; it has caused the degeneration of the American voting kings into voting cattle; it has caused the enslavement of the masses; it made capitalists and monopolists rulers of this nation. Let them gather strength in the future at the same rate as they have in the past and it will not be a great while when they will feel themselves strong enough to refuse the people's demand to abdicate and step down. If we want to know how a nation governed like the United States ends we will only have to read the history of the Roman Republic and of monarchical France under the rule of Louis XVI.

Switzerland is still the idea republic. Although surrounded by the thrones and monarchies of Europe, it has preserved its nationality and form of government; it is the best governed and most respected nation on the earth. All of this is due to the abolishment of the representative form of government and the enactment of direct legislation in its place, which gave the masses the sanctioning and vetoing power, formerly held by the high officials. The people do not have to fear that lobbies and money will corrupt the laws and buy special privileges, because they cannot bribe the majority of the people. Their laws give equal rights to all and every man is the embodiment of patriotism.

If the United States had been governed during the last generation by the masses, instead of by the classes, this country would not now be an English dependency, begging for the privilege of establishing an American financial system. The masses would not have burned the paper money, and thereby created a vast national debt; the government would now be issuing the paper money instead of the national banks. The railroads would not be the possessors of the lands of the West. Silver would not be demonetized, we would still have an American financial policy, and the country would not be mortgaged to the English gold owners. We would have had the income tax in operation and

have had presidents according to the popular vote. We would not have a lot of senators who bought their seats, and not now see the unnatural state of people begging—begging for work.

If the reform forces agree that the financial question, government ownership of the transportation and communication facilities, postal savings banks and direct legislation is the question of the day, we are sure to see a Congress and president elected who are representative Americans and patriotic men, who will legislate for this country and its people and do the greatest good to the greatest number.

GERMANICUS.

A MISSION OF THE PUBLIC PARK.

BY HENRY LESLIE OSBORN, PH.D.

THE study of the history of man shows that he really exists under two relations, often intimately connected, sometimes very distinct. These relations are the strictly individual relation and the collective relation. By the individual relation I mean that one in which his actions are inspired by purely selfish motives, and by the collective I mean that in which his actions are inspired by considerations of the good of his fellow-beings and of himself only as a part of that larger unit. These two aspects of man need to be distinguished clearly, and to make it sure of which I am speaking I shall make a practice of using two separate words, one word, "man," I shall use to denote the human being in his purely individual aspect, and the other, "mankind," I shall use to denote him in this second collective relation. Man and mankind, so the anthropologists teach us, were not simultaneous in their date of evolution, the latter, mankind, having existed long ages prior to the time when man the individual came to really be. In fact, the long struggle to emancipate man and establish his individual independence did not come to an end till within the present century, and cannot even yet be said to be universally at an end. The growth has been one in which man as the individual has separated himself from mankind as the mass, and in that act has come to believe that his rights and privileges deserve recognition on the part of mankind, as undoubtedly they do. However, with his progress in individual development and the throwing off of the restraints imposed on him from external sources, man has only to a limited extent succeeded in replacing external authority with an internal one; which, however, if perfectly developed would be far more effective than any purely external mandate could possibly be.

For the fact must be noted in connection with the development of man that man is a most puny and helpless being, mankind is indeed superior to the brutes, but man single handed finds the contest with nature a very difficult and unequal combat. We of the present generation find it difficult to realize this, for we have in us and around us all the results of the achievements of mankind, and using these man the individual boasts of his prowess, forgetful that he owes all that he has done to the machinery constructed by mankind. We can readily see that this claim is true by reading the history of the colonization of this country, and finding out what struggles the little handful of men had with the rugged wilderness before the public works had been developed, and then comparing the hardship and slow progress of that period with the rapid advancement of our later history. The difference between the human family and the brutes is that mankind has the power to work collectively, to combine and preserve the past and at the same time to build upon it, so that subsequent generations are advancing generations.

I shall further denote the interests of man and mankind respectively as "private" and "public" interests. This use of the words corresponds with a use already in our language, but it is not the only use, since we use the term private in cases where individuals retain proprietorship of institutions which they in part at least offer to the public for their use.

I. PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

Mankind has found it advantageous to establish public institutions for its use. These are not necessarily all of them civil in their nature, in fact it is a very difficult question for the student of mankind, the sociologist, to determine to what extent they are or should be so. We distinctly recognize many as other than civil in their foundation and management, and often, somewhat erroneously, call them "private institutions," as, for example, the large sectarian colleges are in their scope plainly for the interests of mankind, and yet we distinguish them for convenience from the "public schools," which are paid for by direct or

indirect taxation. But besides this class of institutions that are "public" in aim, but "private" in management, there is among us a large growing class of strictly public institutions of many kinds, and these are clearly valuable to mankind, and their maintenance would be advisable, if from no other potent reasons, from considerations of economy alone.

Thus, for example, a public library in a great city can be shown to be cheaper than the maintenance of penitentiaries, it being true that the education and amusement afforded by it keep people out of mischief. The same is amply proved for the public school, for the museum, for the art gallery, and for the public park. I do not for a moment admit or believe that this is the strongest argument for such public institutions, but I only wish to show that public institutions can be defended on the ground of immediate utility, as well as on others. Now what I wish to say is that the greatest good of man can only be secured by supplementing his private interests with public ones. Man cannot thrive single handed. As an example of this let us take the state entomologist. Everybody knows the intimate relation of insect-life to the cultivation of any kind of plants on a large scale. So menacing are the various noxious insects to plant life that the farmers are more afraid of grasshoppers and chinch-bugs than they are of giants, robbers, or thieves. But a study of the characteristics of insect pests, their structure, mode of development and habits, enables the entomologist to discover ways of destroying them, and the study of the matter on the mechanical side results in the invention of means to frustrate their designs upon the crops, which can be applied within the bounds of economy. Now the knowledge of insect habits is the result of the study of hundreds of men in all parts of the world, and it is quite impossible for the average farmer to acquire it single-handed, while it is possible for some one man to keep in touch with the conditions of the problem for a state, and to know the general subject well enough to stop outbreaks as soon as they occur, to any large extent. It is not too much to say that insect ravages could be almost totally abolished if the tillers of the soil would faithfully apply the remedies that are known to be effect-

ive for the extermination of crop diseases. It has been repeatedly shown that the sum of money spent by different states in maintaining a state entomologist has been saved hundreds of times over by the arrest of depredations, impossible without his expert knowledge.

In the same way any one can see that a state geologist confers benefits through the dissemination of his expert knowledge, which is of the greatest dollar-and-cents value to the people of the state who support him. This is shown in such a matter as the location of artesian and other wells, the location of mining deposits, and in the saving of money which results from his being able to say that certain desired deposits cannot be found in places where otherwise good money would be wasted in absolutely useless prospecting.

Another public official who is of the utmost value to mankind is the public health officer. Some of us object when he insists on a change in our plumbing arrangements, but that is because we do not realize the larger bills that would accumulate for the services of the doctor and the undertaker, after an epidemic of typhoid fever.

It is, of course, not necessary for me to argue the case of public institutions. I am only seeking to call attention to them in some of their features. They belong distinctly to mankind, and without them the progress so characteristic of the highest races of mankind would be absolutely impossible. A recognition and admission of this is necessary to the argument which I intend to make.

II. THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTERESTS.

But while we thus clearly recognize that public institutions are advantageous and beneficial both to man and to mankind, no one can fail to see that there are many cases in which private interest antagonizes public interests, that if man is not restrained by considerations higher than purely personal and immediate ones or by external ones in the form of law, he can and often does trespass on public rights. The man in him will act and

not mankind. Such invasion by man of the rights of mankind is due to either or both of two beliefs generally held with regard to man's rights over nature. Either he thinks he can draw in an unlimited way on natural resources to supply him with food, raiment, and other necessaries of life; or he believes that he is at perfect liberty to use nature for the purpose of furnishing him pleasure and amusement.

This antagonism of private and public interests is the central theme of this paper. I shall seek to show that there is an actual antagonism in the particular domain of biology, and that the public park offers a means of reconciling the dispute. My space forbids me to enter upon the broader grounds of public and private right, between which, as everybody knows, there is never any real antagonism, any more than there can be true antagonism between the human body as a whole and any of its members, so that the existence of antagonism always shows that there is error either on the side of the public or of the individual. I shall accordingly examine these alleged antagonisms to ascertain whether they are necessary and whether the establishment of public parks would increase or diminish them.

In the first place, then, no one can deny that man has the right to use the supplies which nature provides—in fact, nature is so ordered that the correct use of her supplies increases their amount. It is one of the supreme marvels of natural life that, like the spiritual life, giving doth not impoverish her, provided the use is within biological limits. But this is not saying that man can exercise his right to use nature independently of all limitations. He is, in fact, bound to preserve and not to exterminate animals and plants. This is certainly true in the case of those living forms that are especially recognized as useful. Think what a calamity it would be if through any dire disaster wheat or corn or beef should be utterly exterminated so that none should be left to breed from. But it is also true of forms that cannot be claimed to be directly useful, because for one thing they often are indirectly useful, and even if not known to be so they belong to mankind and are thus the property of our successors as well as of the present.

And yet in spite of the fact that man ought not to wholly extinguish natural resources, it is a fact that he is doing so very fast. Thus, for example, the bison or buffalo is an animal whose skin for its abundant fur and thick hide is one of the most useful of animals. One would think that self-interest alone, not supplemented by any considerations of obligation to mankind, would show man that such a creature as the buffalo ought to be preserved, and yet no wild and harmful creature has been so ruthlessly exterminated as this. Truly here is another case of destroying the goose that lays the golden egg. Under the action of man unrestrained by mankind, the buffalo has actually suffered practical extinction, and his escape from total disappearance is only attributable to the fact that mankind in various ways interfered to stop this act of man's antagonism to mankind.

The seal presents another case of the same law and the same is the case with the beaver. The same fate also has been planned by man for the plumage birds, game birds and fishes, and food fishes of all sorts. It is also the way of the lumberman who cuts for the present, and of the farmer who skims the soil regardless of the fact that he and his sons have an interest in to-morrow as well as to-day.

Man thus is bent on the extermination of our natural resources, he antagonizes the public interests and is the enemy of mankind.

But it is asked, How are men to make a living unless they supplant these native animals and plants, and is there not another side to the question? Does not the removal of the forest make place for many agriculturists, and cannot the prairies roamed over by the buffalo herds be better used if they are given to the farmer? The expert will always answer such questions by showing that the use of nature is very different from the abuse, that the buffalo and the prairie can both be saved, and that the forest and the arable field are both necessary to the farmer, that our habits have been wasteful and pernicious, and while they should increase our natural supplies have been reducing them to a state of exhaustion. Intelligent cultivation will profit both man and mankind, both private and public welfare will be promoted.

To show that this is not mere talk, I will cite two cases which show how a territory which, under the management of incompetent persons, however well disposed, had grown more and more useless, became productive when taken in hand by men who had a broader knowledge of dealing with nature. One of these areas is an area of rocks and poor trees in North Carolina; it is the Park of Biltmore near Asheville, containing eleven square miles. This tract had been held by a large number of poor people who had gotten a bare livelihood out of it and to do this had impoverished it so as to greatly reduce its productive power. Mr. Vanderbilt, the present owner, bought it of the owners, who were only too glad to sell, and placed expert men in charge of it to clear it and to convert it partly into a forest, partly into open meadows. His men had operated for one year, at the end of which time they made a report. This report, published in 1893, describes both the primitive and the improved condition, showing that the former owners had by injudicious cutting of trees, by burning of parts of it, by allowing the underbrush to have its own way and choke better shrubs and trees, and, in fact, by every form of vicious mismanagement of the property, reduced it to a point where it would barely support them. Photographs in the report show the condition of the woods and make it evident that the account is veracious. At the end of the first year, on the other hand, the improvements were described and the list of expenses and income given, showing that from impoverished territory enough was sold in the first year, and that in a region where lumber sells at a very low figure, nearly to balance the expenditures, that the present condition of the place is sufficiently promising to make it clear that this wilderness can by the application of scientific methods of cultivation be made to pay as an investment of money, to say nothing of the other advantages secured by this better management.

Another case showing that man unaided by mankind makes a gradual but inevitable failure as a result of his use of natural supplies is the history of the hill regions of New England. Here the population skimmed off what they could readily find, mak-

ing little or no return to nature, and the consequence, as might have been anticipated, is the present deserted farm and tumble-down place whose inhabitants are too poor to move away. And here again, as in the case of Biltmore, a wealthy man has shown us what in hundreds of cases a wealthy public might be doing in public parks located in otherwise unproductive districts. I refer to Blue Mountain Forest Park in New Hampshire. Here the late Mr. Corbin, the wealthy magnate of the Long Island Railroad, established a large park in which to experiment on the propagation and development of different kinds of animals. The territory was purchased from its small owners, who were glad enough to get away and in many cases removed to much more desirable locations, thus being considerably benefited by the exchange. Mr. Corbin surrounded it with a fence, twenty-five miles in circumference, built roads through it over which the public are free to travel, the sole requirements being that they apply at the gate for a pass and register their names. The roads are of the most improved sort and are thus an invaluable object lesson in road-making, and the drives in the park are the most alluring. But we are more especially interested in the fact that the park is utilized for the propagation of different kinds of animals, some of them now hardly any longer in existence in a state of nature. I may say in passing that it includes the buffalo, the elk, the deer, bears, foxes, beavers, many birds, and many fish in the streams. Some animals not indigenous to this country have been introduced, such as the wild boar of Austria. These animals are kept under conditions which closely resemble their natural state, they are far from being under the unnatural conditions that we are used to in ordinary zoölogical gardens, and their culture will furnish information both practical, so-called, and scientific, which will be of the greatest value. But the point is that this experiment of Mr. Corbin's, like that of Mr. Vanderbilt at Biltmore, will undoubtedly pay, not merely in satisfaction and in other "intangible" ways, but in cash.

I have cited these two cases to show that man has failed in his contest with nature in some regions, not because they were inadequate to his support, but because he employed erroneous

and injudicious methods; and that the very territories in which he has made his failure are reclaimable and can be rendered profitable by larger and better methods, such as a very wealthy private person or syndicate could put into operation or such as could be operated by the public.

It appears that man's use of the supplies of nature, even when he is drawing upon them to supply perfectly and obviously legitimate wants, tends to invade the right of mankind because it tends, even on the part of people with the best intentions and much more so on the part of less thoughtful people, to be wasteful and misdirected through carelessness or through ignorance, and it ultimately results in the dissipation of the natural supplies. Very few people know how to clear a tract of land, how to fertilize soil, how to build farm buildings, how to build roads, how to make fences, how to kill weeds, in fact how to do most of the commonest things of life in the most economical way. They acquire habits of doing things which are penny-wise-and-pound-foolish, and, not accurately counting the cost, do not discover that they are wasteful and extravagant. They do not know how to apply their work to the best advantage, and they take what they can get from nature with little thought of giving her the relatively little she asks in return. This is the case with men who make a livelihood by farming, hunting, fishing, trapping, lumbering, in fact by anything which brings them hand to hand with nature.

But what shall we say to excuse the second class of persons who are constantly at work doing their part to destroy natural animate things. We can somewhat sharply distinguish two classes of such persons, namely, those called sportsmen, who are pitted against animals, and a second class the flower pickers, for whose benefit all public parks bear innumerable boards on which are inscribed "Do not pick the flowers." I suppose that, however much we may tend to distinguish widely between the killing of an animal and the plucking of a flower, both impulses are sprung from the same motive, the desire of pleasure, and I would not now attempt to prove that this is not a legitimate desire within limits. And yet, unfortunately for nature, the ambition is

always for the rarest; it is not the easiest bird that the fowler most boasts of taking, nor the commonest flower that blooms in profuse abundance that the lady loves to pluck, but the rarer one is more often her ambition. And this rare one may be the last of its race. Some man it is believed in 1844 shot the last living great auk, a bird that in earlier times lived in the greatest numbers in Newfoundland, and elsewhere, and might as well and better have been living still, if the greed of man had not wholly outstripped the sense of man's obligation to the race. It is a pitiful thing to think that this valuable food bird is now totally extinct and that no amount of money can restore it to mankind. A case of this sort, though not with its disastrous results, happened a few years since when in the spring a leading dry goods merchant of Minneapolis offered a prize to that child who should bring to the store on a certain day the largest bunch of wild spring flowers; the advertisement attracted hundreds of children to the fields and woods and many thousand of plants were thereby frustrated in their attempt to replenish the earth.

Let me say that I am not now urging that hunting as a recreation or the plucking of natural flowers is objectionable. I do not believe that such a point could be sustained, at least not on the grounds which underlie this article. But, in fact, the considerations of the rights of mankind do not antagonize the right of man to draw on the natural reserve either for his needs or for his pleasure, provided he is not menacing that natural supply with exhaustion. The superabundance of nature if she is given a reasonable chance will supply the wants of man, especially if we add scientific methods of culture to natural modes of growth, as clearly we must do to keep pace with the enormous increase of the human race in these days of improvement. It is not oversanguine to expect that scientific progress will enable future generations to build on the foundations which the present leaves, as we have done on those of our predecessors. There are, however, some native animals which no amount of regret will enable the future to recover from the destruction of the present. Thus, however useful to the future the great auk might for any reason become, no price will be sufficient to bring one living specimen

to light, and yet it was in existence in 1844. It was a most valuable food bird and could most easily have been saved to mankind if man had been less short-sighted. The secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in his report on the National Zoological Park in Washington, after mentioning a number of different larger mammals and many birds, says: "For the most of these animals it may be regarded as certain that unless some small remnant be preserved in a semi-domesticated state, a few years will bring utter extinction. The American of the next generation when questioned about the animals once characteristic of his country will then be forced to confess that with the exception of a few insignificant creatures, ranking as vermin, this broad continent possesses none of those species which once covered it, since the present generation will have completed the destruction of them all."

III. THE PUBLIC PARK CONSIDERED AS MANKIND'S AGENCY TO COUNTERACT THE INJURIES DONE BY MAN.

From the considerations which I have advanced it becomes a matter of certainty that unless mankind takes measures to preserve our natural resources, many of these resources must sooner or later reach the point of complete exhaustion, because man, whether from thoughtless desire of pleasure or through short-sighted motives of gain, is demonstrably depleting them at a ruinous rate. It therefore becomes a problem for mankind to consider whether these valuable resources can be preserved and increased, both for the good of the present generation of men, and so as to hand them down to our successors. This problem is by no means a simple one; it involves a great many different factors, some of them at present only very dimly understood. On one side are ranged considerations of the rights of man, in cases where property has been privately acquired in perfectly legal ways and is being used as a source of income, as in the case of the lumbering interests. But here interests of man as such may come into conflict, for the cutting off of the forests can be shown to be very detrimental to the interests of the farmer, because of the profound effects of large forest areas on climate,

which, in its turn, is so intimately related to the tilling of the soil. It thus becomes a question whether the forester and the agriculturist shall be permitted to use their property solely as they please or whether mankind shall establish laws to control their actions in the interests of the common weal. Attempts at legislation whereby to control the liberties of man in the interests of those of mankind have been repeatedly made. Thus, for instance, in the Chesapeake Bay it has been attempted to control the taking of oysters so as to prevent the supply of that most valuable animal from entire destruction, and while the wisdom of the legislative measures cannot be doubted, or their fairness to men as well as to mankind, these measures have been always obstinately opposed by oystermen because they conflicted with short-sighted considerations of immediate gain. The same attempt has been made in regard to many other fishing interests and in regard to a number of landed interests, as seen especially in the protection of game.

I can remember distinctly my feeling when as a boy I learned that there was a law forbidding my father from drawing a net in a river which ran through his property. It seemed to my short-sighted boy mind that it was only right that he should do as he pleased on his own property. I was unable then to take mankind into the horizon of my view. I had the same feeling again about being forbidden to shoot game in our own woods out of season, and again when I learned that a road open for a term of years to the free passage of the public could not afterward be closed. In later years, as my horizon broadened, I became capable of including the higher rights of mankind. I am convinced that many persons remain permanently in the condition in which they are born, of recognizing only the narrower range of rights, and that this so long as it continues will always make it very difficult to compass by legislative measures the restriction of personal action on property belonging to the individual.

But the problem includes other considerations besides the interaction of the interests of individuals, and furnishes an even more difficult class of problems to deal with. The problem is, supposing that we could in some way control man and prevent

his assaults on his supply of natural resources in a way that would be clearly beneficial to mankind, could we actually establish under the necessarily artificial conditions that would exist, a state sufficiently natural to accomplish our end, namely to preserve our natural animals and plants. This problem is an immensely difficult one. It involves a knowledge of the exact conditions of life, far beyond the scientist at present. You may have only to reflect on the wonderfully intricate relations of life to see that the numbers of any given animal depend on a great many different factors, such as the climate; the food supply dependent in its turn on the number both of the kind in question and of others living on the same food; the direct enemies and their numbers, a factor in its turn involving all the elements of climate, food, and another set of enemies; in fact it is a most complex mechanism of wheels within wheels. An ignorance of the problem in its full bearings has frequently resulted in serious injury to man, as in the case of hawks, who are really the farmer's friend, because they catch mice and only an occasional chicken and yet are regarded as his enemy, to be trapped or shot if possible. The history of the English sparrow in this country is another case showing how far reaching the relations of life are. Mr. Barrows, in a bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture, devoted entirely to a consideration of this bird, shows that though the first specimens were brought here in 1850, its present distribution is from Maine to Georgia and as far west as Kansas; that it has in these parts nearly exterminated our native birds, not so much by direct and bloodthirsty encounters with them as by the more insidious method of eating all sorts of food and thus starving them, their superior activity and range of habit as to food enabling them to do this. And besides exterminating our native animals this bird is a most pestiferous creature. It would lead me too far astray to recount the case of the English sparrow in detail, but there seems to be nothing which it has not done; it has stolen the food of chickens, killed insects that were distinctly useful, and expelled birds that are distinctly useful as well as many that are ornamental. I only mention it to show that the problem of altering the natural fauna

and flora of a country is not to be thoughtlessly guessed upon by any one, but requires a most intimate knowledge of the co-relations which bear upon each animal or plant.

It thus appears, to return to my theme from this apparent digression, that counteracting the injuries which man is doing to nature is no simple and easy task to be gone about thoughtlessly, but one involving a wide knowledge and possibly much expense.

It therefore becomes important to determine whether the natural features of the life of our country can be preserved and by what means, how much it will cost, and to what extent it will benefit both man and mankind. These questions, which demand answers before we are in a position to attack the main question, cannot be fully answered in the present state of our knowledge. To answer them it would be necessary that a large amount of information should be forthcoming, a good deal of which is not yet in existence. But while materials are not at hand for a final solution of the question there is enough to enable us to establish some general principles, directly bearing upon our case.

First, then, we can say that the injuries can be counteracted. That this is true is shown by the experience, already considerable, of the guardians of public parks, of the large showmen, like P. T. Barnum and his successors in this country, and by the more natural parks already noted of Corbin and Vanderbilt.

Second, the methods necessary to counteract the injuries do not of necessity conflict with private interests, and may, if properly operated, be positively helpful to the individual as well as to mankind. This is also shown by the experience of semi-artificial breeding of fish, in the protected streams of Blue Mountain Park, the overplus of which, straying out into the rivers beyond the boundaries of the park in search of food, become a source of pleasure or profit to the people at large.

Third, it is possible to operate the public park in such a manner that the preservation of nature shall not be carried on at a total cash loss. I say that this is possible, for the experiments of private individuals who have operated such enterprises show that this statement is justified. But whether the park management being a public enterprise can be managed in the close busi-

ness way necessary to make income equal expense would depend entirely upon the managers placed in charge. It is quite likely that so-called "political methods" would be totally inadequate to the management of such an interest. But with the increasing scarcity of lumber, and with the increasing rarity of wild animals, on many of which there is a high market price, it is not too much to claim that good management through a long term of years would make a large part of our now unproductive wilderness territory productive in some if not in a high degree.

Fourth, the public park is the only way to solve the problem. In the case of the oyster industry to which I have already referred this fact has been established, and in a number of places, as, for instance, in Oyster Bay, Long Island, the oyster bottom is the property of the state and has been platted, and the right to fish in these areas must be acquired by individuals under legal limitations, which enable the public control of the industry to be maintained. Unless such public ownership and control is maintained the natural greed of man makes extravagant and wasteful methods certain, and I do not believe that public legislation with private ownership could save our natural resources from the depletion we are seeking to escape.

The imperative necessity of public supervision in some way of the industries of man which involve these large interests is strongly emphasized by N. S. Shaler, professor of geology in Harvard University, a most eminent authority, and the author of many admirable monographs published by the United States Geological Survey. In an article on forests in *Scribner's Magazine* he shows very clearly that in consequence of the unlimited freedom of man to destroy forests for private gain, many districts have had their soil and climate greatly modified, and from fertile and well-watered districts become barren and arid tracts unfit for the support of life. In fact, geological science most clearly shows us that there are a great many different ways in which life contributes to make the surface of the earth habitable by man, and it is in fact the leading agency by means of which the otherwise barren rocks are covered with soil and agriculture, the foundation on which everything stands is made possible.

In this article (Vol. I., p. 580) Professor Shaler says: "The forests are the precious heritage of man, they provided him with a cradle, they furnished him the soil, and they still offer him their help, in some of his greatest needs. No man has the right to destroy them when their destruction means calamity to his fellows or his successors. To give the individual the right to appropriate and overthrow them at his will is to constitute him a cruel despot; if such privileges exist in the laws framed by a short-sighted past it is time they were annulled." It is to the public park, and possibly to public legislation with regard to our wilderness areas, where now no law exists, that the future has to look for the preservation of conditions that now exist.

After this general consideration of the possibility of the public park as an agency to secure our end, let us briefly note what is being done by parks now in existence.

There are two kinds of public parks, which may be distinguished on the basis of their situation. First and most common there is the park located in cities, which exists primarily to afford open breathing places for the crowded population. Their work is to a certain extent compatible with the requirements of our problem, for they in some measure afford object lessons in the correct making of roads, in the preservation of plants, both herbs and trees, and in some cases are a place where native animal life can be propagated as well as exhibited as objects of study both to the ordinary observer and to the student of life. But their scope in this respect is very restricted indeed and must necessarily be so. Among the most natural of such parks we recognize Fairmount Park in Philadelphia and Druid Hill Park in Baltimore, in both of which, besides the preservation of plant life on a vast scale, there are zoölogical gardens of importance. And the educational value of this can hardly be over-estimated, though it is not capable of statement in dollars and cents. In Central Park in New York I saw the only "Prairie Dog Town" I have ever seen, and I was greatly instructed by the sight of these creatures in a virtually natural state.

But in the city park which aims primarily at the amusement

of the masses the feature of interest to us must always be quite secondary, and they cannot be of much service toward the solution of the problem of saving our larger animals from extinction. To secure this result the park must be located in wilder districts, where, though under some limitations, the animals can still have a large and much more unrestricted range, securing a freedom of motion impossible to them in the limited and valuable spaces of the city parks and more seclusion than is possible where there are narrow quarters. The government of the United States has made a beginning in this movement by forming a large park in the outskirts of the city of Washington. The district occupied includes some directly useful land but it also includes the course of a brook which was being made very little use of by its owners. In this place the managers of the park have constructed homes for a great variety of animals. The list of animals reported by the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in 1894 includes 504 animals, representing about 125 species, and including such animals as bison, llama, deer, elk, peccary, beaver, squirrels, porcupines, raccoon, badger, bears, besides a large number of birds and several snakes. Of these a number are reported as having bred while in captivity, which list includes the bison, elk, deer, llama and peccary, opossum, and others.

Another and a much more important operation of the general government, inspired by a recognition of the imperative need of setting aside parts of our national territory for the purposes of a park, was the institution of the Yellowstone National Park. Here if the poacher can be eliminated we have reason to suppose that many of our characteristic animals will live and thrive, long after they have all departed from unprotected places elsewhere.

The extent to which the public has assumed control of lands in this country with a view to their utilization for the purpose indicated in this article as within the province of the public park is very small indeed. And where any steps have been taken to promote this end, little, if anything, has been done toward the scientific study of the problems presented in the case. We must, however, congratulate ourselves that even

a beginning has been made through the establishment of a few parks, but should not rest till the problem is clearly stated in all its bearings and steps leading toward a solution have been taken.

I have now tried to show that the rescue of our native animal and plant life is possible through the agency of the public park. I have tried so far as I could in the limits prescribed to indicate that considerations of public and private good alike dictate that portions of the now unproductive areas of the state be converted into public domain which may, perhaps, be called parks, provided the word park is correctly understood. But this conclusion is not to be taken in a universal sense. It means that public parks are a public necessity, but that they are to be located and controlled with wisdom and for the best good of mankind. How and where to maintain them becomes then the problem for the public lawmaking bodies, the immediate representatives of mankind. The solution of such a problem is clearly impossible to the ordinary man. It requires a knowledge of factors some of them as yet undetermined, and for the determination of which extensive inquiries would be necessary. The problem might be stated thus: Here is a portion of the land of this state, would it be advantageous to devote it to the purposes of a public park? It would be very short-sighted and ill-considered to say an offhand "yes" to such a question however unproductive the area in question might seem to be. There are several reasons why an offhand answer could not be given to such a question, all included under the general head of advantage. For one thing, before we can answer such a question we must study the value of the property and find out how much it would cost to buy if held by private parties, and how much it would sell for if it belongs to the state. Then there are questions of location, accessibility, and such. There are also questions of relative desirability, all unproductive areas not being equally desirable for park purposes, and all the adaptability of the site for carrying out the general purposes which are in hand in the entire park system not only of one state but of the adjacent states as well. In fact, as we scan the matter we see that the question

on its practical side is extremely complicated and involved, and that a solution is only possible on the basis of a large amount of exact information both on the side of economics in the sense of values, and on the side of biology.

A somewhat analogous problem presents itself to communities when they are establishing their water supply; some places are fortunately located and can draw their supply from abundant and unfailing sources of good water. There the problem of engineering does not present itself as a very difficult one, but in other cases the large size of the city and the relatively small size of the streams make it a problem of great nicety; the location of a reservoir, involving the price of property that must be devoted to the lake thus formed, the amount of rainfall and the area of watershed from which water can be collected are factors which make it a possible but immensely intricate practical problem. It is never the custom of cities to solve such a problem without calling in the services of the most able and competent engineers, and these men have to base their studies on the various surveys, topographical mainly in their nature, to whose results they can gain access, and are much assisted if the state has made accurate plottings of its territory to which they can refer. A state survey is an inventory of public property, and considering the value of this property it can never be made too thoroughly.

If a biologist were to be confronted with the question whether any particular area is well adapted to secure the protection of natural resources in the department of living things, he would find that the data available and bearing on his problem were very scanty indeed. Such as they are, they are mainly lists of names of animals that are comparatively little known so far as their detailed life is concerned. About some there are many erroneous ideas prevalent and it is really impossible to accept popular tales about the habits of animals because they are so tinged with error, even where they contain some elements of truth. A few animals and plants have been studied, more especially those that very directly interest man, but only a very few. The United States had made some attempts at a biological recon-

naissance, notably in some of the Western States, under the direction of Professor C. Hart Merriam of the Department of Agriculture, but we are still operating even our horticulture very much in the dark through the still considerable ignorance of the features of the problem of animal and plant life, though in this section of the subject very great advance has been made. It is therefore one of the needs of the public park system that all its operations be subjected to the advice of a competent official of the state, a state biologist, who should coördinate his work with that of the other state officials, such as the state geological survey, and the state entomologist, as well as with that of a multitude of private observers, who are competent and glad to assist, and who should thus bring together for reference the data necessary to solve problems arising on the biological side, in connection with public parks.

In concluding, I cannot help making the avowal that the sordid basis of economic gain, as measured by even *gold dollars*, on which I have placed my argument, may be a most important one, but that to my mind and to many more there are considerations that far outweigh cash in favor of the preservation of nature to mankind. These are sometimes called intangible and unreal, and hence I have not sought to emphasize them, but to many minds, and I cannot help believing that for man and for mankind they are the best minds, there are some realities besides those that are weighed and measured in the material scale. Coleridge says :

> " He prayeth best who loveth best,
> All things both great and small,
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loved them all."

And if the sad experience of the Ancient Mariner who shot the albatross is destined to come to man when he has destroyed all nature, and it is perhaps not too much to believe that the death of sympathy in man might make life of little worth, then we can see that our care for nature is not without higher compensations, additional to those which can be measured by means of the money standard.

HENRY LESLIE OSBORN.

THE EVOLUTION OF MONEY.

BY JAMES DENTON HANCOCK.

PART I.

IN considering the laws relating to money, we must study not only the great principles upon which it depends, but also the conditions and limitations under which it exists. A serious mistake with too many thinkers upon the subject has been that they have adopted one quality or office of money—often a not essential quality or office—and have based thereon both their theories and conclusions. Thus, for instance, a very considerable number of writers have treated currency as the sole office of money and have forgotten its office as a measure of values, upon which its currency depends. They have likewise mistaken instruments of credit for money, forgetting that behind the credit lies actual money. Others have treated money as a fetich, something higher and beyond the invention of man. Yet it is a mere invention—an invention, however, which has contributed more to the advancement of commerce and of the race than any other material cause of which we have knowledge. Before the existence of money all trade or exchange was a system of barter, and was confined within limits so narrow as now to be practically inconceivable. The extension of its offices, the multiplication of its uses and of the uses of instruments dependent upon it, have made possible the extensions of a commerce which now stretches to every corner of the globe, which has multiplied a hundredfold the comforts and conveniences of every human being, and which has enabled man to reach the highest flights of knowledge, science, and art. In itself it is the poorest and meanest of human productions; in its office as a measure of values and medium of exchange it has accomplished the mightiest of results.

In relation to its primary office, money may be defined as a convenient device to facilitate the exchange of commodities. In its operation it is a medium of exchange, and to be a medium of exchange it must also be a common measure of values. In order to be a measure of values, it must itself possess value. The elements of nature are without limit; therefore we are compelled to estimate by comparison. We measure weight by weight, space by space, time by time, and in the same line of analogy we must measure value by value; but as a measure of value can be conceived which would be incapable of practical use, the other element of convenience for the purpose of exchange is necessary to a proper conception of money. These two qualities, to wit, value and convenience for the purpose of exchange, are essential elements in the thing we call money, and thus money, being a convenient measure of values when in common use, becomes what is known as currency, or a medium of exchange. It is true that substances such as tokens and paper promises may also be currency, but they are such only because they are referable to and resolvable into money. They are not money, but represent money, and thus under favorable conditions perform its functions; but let it be understood that they do not actually represent and are not exchangeable into money and their operation as currency ceases. Value and convenience for use are therefore essential elementary conditions of the existence of money, and in studying the evolution thereof we need only consider the effects of time, place, and circumstance upon these two qualities to understand why certain articles have been used and disused as money, and why changes have occurred from time to time in the relative use of different articles as money.

In relation to money we often hear the expression that it must have intrinsic value. If such a thing as "intrinsic value" exists, it is incapable of intelligent economic definition; it cannot exist in a device or machine such as money, which has little value separate from the purpose for which it is used. Money cannot be eaten or worn, but it can be used to purchase things which can be eaten or worn. The value which is essential to money is therefore exchange value. In order that any article

may have an exchange value, always two out of three conditions are essential: first, use; second, the exertion of labor upon it; and third, monopoly of the subject of use or labor. The last of these, monopoly, has been usually excluded as an element of value; but the studies of the later economists, including John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Ricardo, have clearly shown that when combined with use it becomes an important element of value. Thus air and water, though essential for use, ordinarily possess no exchange value because they ordinarily cost no labor, but they may be subjects of monopoly, and in that case have value. Thus, also, one of the elements of value in land consists of the monopoly of use arising from its appropriation; and in the development of society the effects of monopoly have been so great that, wisely and unwisely, a multitude of laws have been enacted to prevent the evils arising therefrom.

In the value of money, however, while monopoly has always, to a greater or less extent, formed an element, its influence has been so indefinite and so equally distributed that it has had no important effect upon the evolution of money, and may therefore be eliminated in the study thereof, leaving for consideration the other two elements of value only, to wit, desirability for use and labor cost. If it shall be said that among the elements of value we have omitted the use of capital, it will be remembered that in the industrial arts capital is the direct result, and, in whatever proper form it takes, tends to increase the efficiency of labor to such an extent that under natural conditions it does not disturb the controlling influence of labor on values. In this respect, labor cost and cost of production are convertible terms; therefore, hereafter, when the expression "cost of production" is used, it may be treated as labor cost.

Cost of production would not by itself be sufficient to constitute money; we can conceive of a multitude of articles of every variety of cost of production which on account of their inconvenience could not be used as general measures of value. Convenience in use is essential. Nor is convenience in use sufficient to constitute money, for the reason that values are measured by

values and convenience may exist without value. But, given value in the different commodities which may be used for measures of value, it will be found that natural evolution always tends in favor of that commodity which under practical conditions can be most conveniently used as a medium of exchange, and therefore that convenience has been the controlling element in the adoption, use, and disuse of the different metals as media of exchange.

Almost every conceivable article has been used for money. Cattle, sheep, skins, tobacco, shells, iron, copper, silver, and gold have at different times and at different places been so used, and it will be found that to a greater or less extent they have all possessed value and cost labor, that they have been the most convenient measures of value under the special conditions in which they were so used, that their use or disuse as money has finally been controlled by their cost of production and convenience in use, and that under a natural evolution, controlled by these two elements and conditions, gold and silver coins have gradually been adopted as money by all commercial nations.

For money, gold and silver possess peculiar and some exclusive advantages. They each cost labor to produce; which, with their convenience for use, constitutes their value as media of exchange. They are found in quantities increasing with the growth of population and business. Through coinage they can be so defined and divided as to make them exact measures of value for the greatest and smallest articles and for the greatest and smallest amounts. The coins produced from them are beautiful, indestructible, easily handled and transported, difficult to counterfeit, and varying less in the elements of value than most, if not all, of the other products of human labor. In the absence of the other, either of these metals would form an ideal measure of values. Under different conditions either may be better than the other, and as the different conditions under which each is preferred have usually existed together, both metals have generally been used at the same places and times.

At this date it is difficult to learn with precision which of the two metals, as money, first came into use. Silver is mentioned as

a medium of exchange in the history of the life of Abraham ; gold was in commercial use in ancient Troy. It is presumed, however, from the analogy with the use and disuse of other metals, that silver came into general use as a measure of value before gold. First came iron. When the production of this metal became so great, and, consequently, its cost of production so small that it was no longer convenient as a measure of values, its use for such purpose was discontinued. Then came copper, which under the same conditions, lost its place ; then bronze ; then, in the natural order, we may presume came silver, and finally came gold, which last two metals for many hundreds of years have been used as money side by side in all the civilized nations of the globe ; but at all times and in all places, where natural laws were allowed to assert themselves—and sooner or later they always did assert themselves—we find that the use of the metals as money was controlled by these two principles, convenience and cost of production, which, directly and indirectly, reacted upon each other. Thus, when the cost of production of iron and copper became so low, and, therefore, in comparison with other articles their value in proportion to their bulk became so small that they ceased to be convenient as media of exchange, their use was discontinued. Thus, also, when these metals ceased to be convenient as measures of value, that portion of their value which arose from their use as measures of value ceased likewise to exist.

In the history of what are known as the precious metals we find that the use of gold and silver in relation to each other and to other commodities has been controlled by the same principles of convenience and cost of production acting and reacting upon each other.

We find, as matters of fact, that in the ages before the Christian era, the ratio of silver to gold was 5 to 1, in proportion to weight ; that in the time of the Cæsars it became $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ; in the early Middle Ages it was 10 to 1 ; in the later Middle Ages 15 to 1 ; in the eighteenth century $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ; and that at the present time in the markets of the world it is not less than 25 to 1. An examination of the causes which, acting upon these underlying

principles of money, have led to this change of relative values between the precious metals, may not only throw light upon the present financial situation, but may furnish guides upon which to base future financial policies.

As the writer understands them, these causes are: first, the increased magnitude of exchange and the extension of commerce; second, the substitution of credit in different forms for the use of the metals as currency; third, the relative decrease in the cost of production of silver and its consequent greater production.

I. In the early ages of civilization commerce in its present form did not exist. Exchange was confined to isolated locations and limited to those small and segregated articles which were necessary to human comfort in those separate locations. Beyond individuals in those separated places it did not extend. In those periods the first use of metals in relation to each other must have been controlled by the cost of production, which in the case of gold would have been so great in comparison with the magnitude of the things exchanged and the amount of the exchanges, that it could not be conveniently used. When exchanges were few and small in amount, the smallness in the size of the pieces of gold to be used would exclude them from use; on the other hand, silver and even copper would be much better fitted for media of exchange; and accordingly we find that in the earliest ages sometimes copper, and frequently silver, was practically the sole media of exchange. As commerce extended and the magnitude of transactions increased, the difficulty of handling, counting, transporting, and storing copper and silver, brought gold into use for the larger and more widely-extended transactions as compared with the smaller and local transactions, so that for many years the actual use of any other metal than gold has been practically excluded in international commerce and the larger exchanges. To meet these conditions the different nations have established systems of coinage, of which the more valuable coins were composed of gold and the less valuable of silver; but the extent and magnitude of commerce have constantly increased the use of gold in comparison with silver; and, as use is one of the elements of value, the tendency has been to increase the

relative value of gold. There can be no question at the present time that, through the growth of commerce, the transactions in amount requiring gold as a medium of exchange throughout the commercial world many times exceed those requiring silver. As convenience is essential to use in materials of which money is made, and as use is an essential element of value, we have thus in commercial extension an important factor in the relative increase in the value of gold over silver, or *ex converso*, the relative decrease of the value of silver under gold; and as there is no limit to the future extension of commerce, without the intervention of other influences than at present exist, we have no reason to expect a discontinuance of the growing disproportion between the value of the two metals.

2. In its embryonic state, the practice of using credit in business existed at an early stage in the history of the world. We find the money-lender and the obligation for debt domiciled in Athens immediately after the Persian War. In Rome, in the days of the republic, the money-lenders were a distinct class, and it was there that we first find as a legal principle that interest could justly be charged for the use of money. In England, prior to the Revolution of 1688, the Jews and gold merchants were looked upon as a distinct class, subject to persecution because they traded in money and charged usurious rates of interest, but from whom in special exigencies the kings of England were constantly obliged to borrow in order to carry on their wars and provide for the administration of government. Under the strict police regulation which the more ancient governments maintained over the use of money in all its functions, the issue of demand notes, which under the name of bank notes now forms so large a portion of the currency of the commercial nations, was not permitted to private individuals and corporations; and while governments had time and again debased the currency through frauds upon gold and silver coinage, they had not conceived the idea, through banks, of issuing currency based directly upon their own obligations and indirectly upon their power to tax the people to redeem their promises.

Credit, as we understand it to-day, as a substitute in use for money, was the invention of more modern times. It was the outgrowth of war. It commenced in the fifteenth century with the organization of the Bank of Venice to aid the government in procuring a market for its obligations made necessary by the civil wars in Italy and by their naval wars against the Turks. This bank was soon followed by the Bank of Amsterdam, resulting from the wars of Holland against Spain, France, and England; and this again was followed by the organization of the Bank of England, which was created to provide for obligations resulting from the civil wars and wars with France and Holland. These were followed by the establishment, for like uses, in succession, of the Banks of France, Austria, Germany, Russia, and so on throughout all, or nearly all, the independent countries of Europe.

The issue of circulating notes by these banks was based upon the principle that money was the measure, not the basis, of values; that labor when applied to land and other natural forces of production was the real basis of values, and that government through taxation, having a lien upon all production above the smallest amount required for the sustenance of the laborer, his present capacity in production could be utilized in the payment of interest, while the payment of the principal of the obligations could be provided for by future growth and development of production. The result proves the truth of the theory; and for several hundreds of years, amid all the convulsions which time and again have overspread Europe, nearly all public obligations have been honored. It was also believed, and the belief was vindicated by results, that with such ability to meet its obligations rendered certain by its power to tax, governments might permit these banks to issue notes based upon its securities held by them, providing, however, that such notes were redeemable in real money, to wit, the coined metals; and for that purpose they required the banks to maintain in their vaults a sufficient amount of coin to pay all their notes which were likely to be returned for redemption. Sometimes, as was the case with the Bank of England during the wars of Napoleon, the banks were

compelled to issue so many of these demand notes in exchange for the securities of government that they were unable to redeem them, in which event specie payment was suspended, the notes sank below their face value in specie, and such value as they had rested solely upon credit, or upon faith in the ability of the government to meet its obligations and of the banks to redeem their paper in the future.

With these banks as a beginning, a system of banking has been organized which extends throughout the world. Many of the banks issue circulating notes; more of them are used for the purpose of discount and deposit; and no village of 5,000 inhabitants can be found in which several of them do not exist. The effect has been to centralize the business of finance and to extend almost beyond calculation the system of credit. For instance, a check may be drawn upon a bank in some interior town in Pennsylvania, deposited in another bank in the same place, paid by the bank upon which it is drawn by a draft upon some bank in Pittsburg; this draft pass through the clearing house there and again be settled by a draft on New York, and payment again be made by a draft on London, and possibly settlement finally be made by a draft on Paris or St. Petersburg. From the beginning to the end all these exchanges rest upon credit. Not a dollar of money has passed anywhere in the line, and yet throughout the whole line the transactions have been represented by money in the different banks, and behind them have been founded upon a multitude of barters which have extended throughout the world. Thus, through banking, money, and credit, the business of the world has for convenience largely returned to the original system of barter.

Some idea may be had of the part which credit plays in the business of the world by a consideration of an estimate made some years ago in the city of London, of the comparative volume of transactions in that city settled through credits and those settled by money, including bank notes. The proportion in value was $97\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the former to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the latter. A similar estimate made last year in New York showed the proportion of $98\frac{3}{4}$ per cent in amount of transactions settled by credit

to 1¼ per cent settled by money; and we may safely estimate that throughout the commercial world the proportion of business done by the use of credit to that done for money would not be less than 90 of the former to 10 per cent of the latter.

The effect of this immense expansion of credits upon the use of both the precious metals has been obscure, but must have been great beyond estimation; and as one of the two elements of value in the precious metals in use, and credits have been to a large extent substituted for their use, the tendency has been to lessen the value of both metals. The factors which enter into exchange values are so numerous that it is ordinarily impossible to tell the extent to which this tendency has been effective, by comparisons with the prices of other products, for the reason that through machinery the productive power of labor has been so many times multiplied as to cheapen in price all other products to an extent far greater than would be compensated for by any fall in the value of the precious metals. Labor has in the last fifty years risen in price from 50 to 75 per cent, but this is probably jointly due to the depreciation of the precious metals on account of their disuse through substitution of credit, and partly to the greatly increased productive power of labor. On account of this decrease in the value of money, the writer has sometimes thought that the increase of wages has been to some extent delusive; and this view is confirmed when the proportion of production arising from the vast increase of productive power distributed, not so much to legitimate capital, as to monopoly, is compared with what has gone to labor. In other words, the comparative condition of ordinary capital and labor has advanced but little, while the increased production has, under special conditions, often been monopolized by a few individuals and corporations.

While it is difficult to estimate the effect of this system of credits upon the joint value of the precious metals, its effect in promoting the use of gold in preference to that of silver can hardly be exaggerated. These credits are represented by money. Balances on commerce between different countries, and between parts of the same country, must be settled in money. As a basis

of credit money must be centralized in large commercial cities, and must thence be transported to the four corners of the globe. It must be stored, and for this purpose vaults must be maintained. It must, at a great expense of time and labor, be handled and counted in every transaction in which it is directly involved.

The expense and labor of storing, transporting, counting, and handling silver are many times greater than the expense and labor of performing the same services connected with gold. Thus it has happened that by a natural selection the banks and other instrumentalities of the vast credit system have, on account of its convenience, chosen gold as the reserve upon which to maintain their credit. The consequence has been a constant increase in the relative use of gold and decrease in the relative use of silver as money, and, as use is one of the principal elements of value, a further consequence has been a constantly increasing ratio in the value of gold over that of silver. Nor have we yet reached the limit of this tendency. Commerce still continues to extend, new countries are opened to civilization, obstructions are being removed from the freedom of trade, and with extensions of commerce are extending the ramifications of the systems of credit, all selecting the use of the most convenient medium of exchange, which gold has thus far proved to be.

3. In the opinion of the writer, too much weight has been generally ascribed as an independent factor to the decreased cost or over-production of silver. The relative use of the two metals has been dependent upon their convenience in the making of exchanges. Where the transactions were small and local, silver, because of the larger and more convenient size of the coins made therefrom, has always been, as it is now, the principal medium of exchange. When the transactions were large and distant, and based upon credit, for centuries gold, because of its superior convenience, has been the principal medium; but as in amount and importance the latter transactions in the aggregate have, by gradual advances, come vastly to exceed the former, gold has likewise become the more important factor in exchanges. Nor

has the temporary greater value of silver over gold at fixed ratios decreased this tendency. The only record of the kind we have was that arising from the discoveries of gold in immense quantities in California and Australia, when the price of silver ranged considerably above that of gold. The only effect was to increase the use of gold; and during that time the United States and several other nations consummated the change from silver to gold as the actual measure of values. The reason in either case was convenience in the transaction of business, not a conspiracy to add to the burdens of the debtor class. The primary office of money is not to pay debt, but to furnish a medium of exchange; debt is merely an incident of exchange, usually a deferred part of an incomplete exchange, and is therefore governed in its fulfillment by the same conditions as an exchange, and is settled on the basis of the established measure of values. Money and debt are both dependent upon exchange; they are in no sense dependent upon each other. Either may exist without the other; and the use of money must be controlled by its office as a medium of exchange, and not because it is likewise, as an incident of exchange, used to pay debt.

The question, therefore, of over-production of either gold or silver depends principally upon the extent of its use, and other conditions being equal, this depends upon its convenience. If the element of convenience and the consequent greater use of gold could be eliminated from the question, there would probably be no over-production of silver; but taking the conditions as they are, there can be no doubt that the discovery of immense stores of silver in the western mountains of the United States, and in Mexico and South America, and the improved facilities for mining and bringing them to market, have so increased the production of silver as greatly to decrease its value compared with that of gold, and has relatively reduced its value as a medium of exchange. What has been heretofore said about convenience in use and cost of production reacting upon each other will be remembered. In this case the value of silver, as represented by the cost of production, has been so reduced as to still further increase the relative difference between the value of the

two metals, and, as based upon this ratio, the convenience of silver as a medium of exchange has been diminished in like proportion. Nor would a change of ratio help the matter; the greater the difference in the ratio, the more inconvenient would silver become.

While the history of the precious metals for many centuries shows a continued tendency in the use of gold to supersede that of silver, it also shows during all those ages the common use of both metals as measures of value and media of exchange. This has led to confusion of thought upon what is known as the subject of bimetallism. In the minds of some, bimetallism means simply the common use of gold and silver as media of exchange in the same times and countries. As a fact this conception is correct, and we may safely infer under the conditions in which they are used it will remain correct for many years. Even in those countries in which silver has been demonetized, it is still used for the smaller and local exchanges. The more common view, however, is that bimetallism means two equal measures of value at the same time and in the same country. This conception is not true in theory and has never been true in fact.

The use of the precious metals is practicable only through a system of coinage of which some particular class of coins is the unit of coinage, upon which, in amount and value, all other classes of coins are based. This unit of coinage is the legal ultimate measure and standard of values, and all other coins are either multiples or fractions thereof. If this unit is silver then the standard of values is silver; if gold then the standard is gold. The legal unit of coinage, for instance, was in the United States, under the Act of 1793, the Spanish milled dollar, and so continued until 1873, when by law its coinage was discontinued. The coinage of the dollar had, however, ceased many years before. The ratio between silver and gold had been fixed at 15 to 1. At this ratio the gold coinage was more valuable than the silver, and under what is known as the Gresham Law, by which the cheaper currency drives the dearer from circulation, the gold coinage disappeared from circulation. Under the Act of 1834 the ratio was then changed to that of 15.98 to 1, at which

rates the silver coinage was more valuable than that of gold, and under the same law disappeared from circulation; the coinage of the silver dollar was then discontinued, and consequently, while the legal unit of values was the silver dollar, the actual unit of values was the gold dollar or one of its multiples, the eagle or half eagle, and so continues to this day; for although the coinage of the silver dollar, as formerly fixed by law, has been resumed under the Acts of 1878-90, it is made redeemable by the government in gold, and consequently, under the Act of 1893, the gold dollar is the actual measure of values. During the history of this country, therefore, only one metal has either theoretically or practically furnished a measure of values. For a short time it was silver; the remainder of the time it has been gold.

If we fully examine the history of the precious metals, we find that during the period in which the metals have been used for money, the unit of coinage has always been composed of one of the metals, and with few exceptions until the present century, that the metal so used was silver. This is shown by the name of the standard coin in different countries. In England the pound was a pound of silver; in France the franc, in Germany the thaler, in Spain and Mexico and the United States the dollar, were all silver pieces. The reason is obvious; it is only during the last and present centuries that the extensions of commerce have been so enormous. The silver coinage was more convenient for the smaller and more limited transactions of earlier eras, when the use of credit, as we now understand it, had not been discovered. Even in the earlier periods transactions between governments and communities were settled in gold, and the growing use thereof in comparison with that of silver led from time to time to changes in the ratios between the two metals. Early in the nineteenth century the growth of commerce and development of credit through the superior convenience of gold, either directly or indirectly in the majority of exchanges, greatly increased the use of gold at the expense of silver, resulting in such frequent relative reductions in the value of silver that it lost its stability as a measure of values. It is frequently remarked that the

statement should be reversed so that it should read that the value of gold had advanced while that of silver continued stationary. This would not be correct, for while credit has to a great extent superseded both metals, the effect has been much more largely felt on silver than on gold. On account of these fluctuations in the value of silver, as well as the greater convenience of gold as a medium of exchange, first England, and after England the other commercial nations of the world have, in succession by law, made some one gold coin the actual unit of coinage, and thereby the unit and measure of values. It was not a question as to whether either or both of the metals should be used as money, but as to which of them should compose the unit of coinage, and therefore of value ; and the same cause which led to the adoption of gold as the unit of coinage, to wit, the greater convenience of gold on account of the greater number and importance of the transactions in which gold is used, has finally led to the adoption of gold as the unit or standard of value (to wit, the greater convenience of gold on account of the greater number and importance of the transactions in which gold is used).

This change in the unit of value does not imply the disuse of silver any more than when silver was the unit of values was implied the disuse of gold. It is simply a recognition of the altered relations of the two metals to each other in exchanges. Though in the larger and more numerous exchanges gold has superseded silver, silver still holds its place in respect to exchanges of the class which originally brought it into use. Frequently instrumentalities of commerce are, by reason of changed conditions, partially superseded by other instrumentalities, and yet occupy a high and necessary place in the social and industrial field. Such has been the effect of the elevated upon the street railways in the large cities; such likewise the effect of electricity upon gas. In both these cases and in a multitude of others which the reader can particularize for himself, disuse for some one purpose did not result in disuse for all purposes; and as instrumentalities of comfort and intercourse, they occupy places as indispensable and profitable as when they were first

introduced. Such, it is presumed, will be the position occupied by silver when the revolution of centuries shall finally have been accomplished, and it shall be dethroned as the unit and consequently ultimate measure of values, and occupies its place, not as an obstruction, but as an aid to commerce and exchange. The field of local exchanges is broad and constantly increasing, and the greater part of this field will naturally be appropriated by silver, especially in our own country.

Nor would human happiness and prosperity be advanced by the total demonetization of silver. Omitting personal obligations, which have but a temporary existence, a cautious estimate of the public and semi-public debt of the world, including national, state, county, municipal, railroad, and other obligations of public corporations which are permanent, shows the enormous aggregate of $75,000,000,000, which is apparently a never-ending burden upon human industry. Who can estimate the misery which has been and is still involved in the creation and continuance of this vast burden? The entire discontinuance of the use of silver as money in some form would, without doubt, tend to increase the weight of this burden, though not to an extent equal to the inconvenience and trouble which would result from the disturbance of credit and interference with commerce that would be occasioned by a backward revolution. The final conclusion of statesmen throughout the world will therefore probably be, while not interfering with the present system of commercial exchanges, to preserve the use of silver in its legitimate subsidiary functions; thus combining order with progress and alleviating the hardships which almost always follow human progress.

JAMES DENTON HANCOCK.

THE GOLD MONEY FALLACY: A STUDY OF THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

BY J. C. ELLIOTT.

MONEY serves two purposes. It is a medium of exchange, and it is a measure of values. These two uses must be kept distinct in the mind. First: A medium of exchange merely represents value and conveys that representation. It need not have value in itself. The vehicle that is employed to convey precious goods may be of little worth. The value lies in the goods conveyed. The medium of transportation is possibly thrown away as worthless when the goods are received.

When an article is sold, a note may be given by the buyer to the seller, on which is certified the value of the article. This note is merely a statement. Any amount great or small may be written in it; its power lies in the sum which it represents, and this note may be the medium of many exchanges: The seller receiving it may pass it, for articles he needs, to another seller, who, in turn, may pass it to another, and he to another; thus the same note may be the medium of many exchanges. Especially is this the case when the original giver of the note is well known, and known to be reliable and honorable. And if every man were known to be unfailingly honest and responsible, these individual notes would be all the medium of exchange necessary. As a matter of fact a very large portion of our business is now transacted in this way. The clearing houses are but the stated exchanging of the notes and checks and drafts, of individuals and corporations, that were given for this purpose; and the proposed international clearing house will be the exchanging on a colossal scale of these representations of value between parties of all lands.

It is very convenient, however, to have these notes already made out to represent different values, and to have an indorser

well known and of recognized responsibility, so that exchange can be made quickly, accurately, and safely. Money is, therefore, issued by the government representing such values that any transaction great or small may be arranged with facility. The money has no more value in itself than the note of the responsible individual or corporation. The paper stamped $5 will represent ten times that amount if stamped $50, or twenty times if stamped $100. The paper may be common and coarse, like the first issue of the Confederacy thirty years ago, or the excellent and unique quality now used by our government. Its importance lies wholly in the representation or certification of values, which it carries.

Coin is metal stamped to represent values; the copper with which we make exact change is very common material, yet the government stamp makes one hundred of them represent a dollar; the nickel is stamped to represent one twentieth of a dollar; and silver and gold stamped, represent one, five, ten, or twenty dollars. The material of which coin, as a medium of exchange, is made is of no importance. It may be iron, copper, nickel, silver, gold, aluminum, or any other metal. It is the stamp upon the metal, as upon the paper, that determines the representation of value it shall carry; just as truly as the date, amount, and signature of an individual's note determines what it shall represent and convey. Coins are not necessary, and are not popular as a medium of exchange. Paper currency such as bank bills, silver and gold certificates, checks, and drafts are much more convenient and desirable.

If coin is preferred, the government is ready to send out any desired amount of silver from the treasury, and to pay the express charges to any part of the country. Sixty million of gold certificates are held by parties who prefer the paper to the coin. Coin has its use as a measure of values, but as a medium of trade it might just as well remain carefully and safely stored in the treasury vaults.

Among civilized people some medium of exchange is absolutely necessary, and the higher the civilization rises, and the more widely it is extended, the greater is the amount required.

In a savage state each consumes what he himself produces. In a primitive state of civilized life the producer and consumer are close together; indeed this separation, by division of labor, has largely grown within two generations. Formerly, when the farmer sold his produce to the general merchant, he bought from him his coffee, sugar, calico, cloth, and hardware. The money he received was a small amount, it was only the balance remaining after his wants were supplied; and when the laborer sold his services, usually to the farmer, he received from the farm nearly all that he consumed in his home, the amount of cash he received being trifling.

Now, the produce, as wheat, is sold to a miller who pays the whole amount in cash, which is carried to and distributed among the various merchants and tradesmen and exchanged for shoes, clothing, groceries, and hardware in the separate shops, and then it must find its way back to the miller in exchange for his flour.

Now, labor is usually sold in a city, to a manufacturer of stoves or harvesters or matches or pots or books, who sends them to distant states, and many months must pass before they reach the consumer and the cash be returned to the manufacturer, when the laborer receives the whole amount of his earnings in money, which must now be distributed by him and find its way through an infinite number of complicated channels to the producer of wheat and cotton and wool and hides.

With our modern appliances labor produces more than it ever did before, but also, never before was the distance between the producer and consumer so great. The medium of exchange, carrying these representations of value all the long distances now between them, should be proportionately increased.

In the early statehood of Ohio, three quarters of a century ago, my grandfather was for a number of terms the representative from his district. He rode to Columbus, about one hundred miles, on his own horse. He wore clothes home made and home raised. The linen grew in his own fields and the wool on the back of his own sheep, and I have been assured that every article of his clothing was transformed from the "raw material to the finished product" by the skilled hands of his own wife, my

grandmother. There was little need of money in those primitive times, but now all is changed, the wool is sold for money, and must pass through many hands, and be transported here and there, long distances, before it comes back as clothes, to reclaim the cash received for it.

The civilized portion of our country is rapidly widening, reaching out over territory possessed only by savages a few years ago, quickly transforming marshes into cities. The most marvelous exhibition at the Columbian Exposition was the contrast between Chicago in 1833 and 1893.

Savage nations are also being civilized and commerce is extended where there was no possible trade a few years ago. The group of islands in the Pacific that attracted the attention of all our people for many months, and whose commerce is now regarded as so important, was inhabited by cannibals at the opening of this century. Christian civilization and commerce have been traveling hand in hand around the world, extending trade and producing a demand for an ever-increasing medium of exchange. The amount demanded in the world to-day is incomparably greater than were the needs three generations ago.

Second: Money is also a measure of values. In order that there may be uniformity in measurements there must be a basis determined or fixed upon; also a unit of measurement, definitely established, upon that basis. Both base and unit are arbitrarily made by law.

The second's pendulum at sea level is the determined basis of extension, and indirectly also of weights in this country. Countries vary somewhat in their base and units of measurement. The vibrating pendulum is thought to be the most reliable basis for the measurement of extension known. The human foot did very well in a crude condition of society, but now we require the most exact possible. The unit of measure upon this pendulum is the 12-39.1012 part and called a foot; one twelfth of a foot is called an inch, three feet one yard, and from this unit, thus obtained, we measure cloth, lumber, land, and all extension. From this unit we obtain also the gallon, which is 231 cubic inches, and from this divided and multiplied we obtain our

liquid measures. From this also we obtain our weights. One gallon of distilled water is 8.3398 pounds, from which by division we obtain both avoirdupois and apothecary weights. A change in the basis, making the pendulum longer or shorter, a two second or a half second pendulum, would cause endless confusion in all present contracts involving measures or weights.

The fixed unit of the present basis could not be changed without working great injustice; if increased, then injustice to the man who must furnish whatever is measured or weighed, but if decreased, then injustice to the one who receives them. Both basis and unit should be permanent.

To measure values there must also be a basis established by arbitrary enactment. From the earliest history of our race silver and gold have been employed in trade and commerce. Their beauty and freedom from tarnish and decay, and the limited quantity produced, made them, or, at least, they have become, the accepted standard among civilized and semi-civilized peoples. Other metals may be more precious and more difficult to procure from the mines, but silver and gold have been by common consent and enactment of laws the standard by which all values are measured. They have formed the great pendulum rod, the basis of values; one part was gold and sixteen parts silver, and this has remained practically the fixed ratio of the metals, forming the pendulum, for hundreds of years. There has been no uniformity of unit among the nations, each establishing its own.

The unit of value established by this government, called a dollar, is 25.8 grains taken from the gold part or 412.5 grains taken from the silver part. The measure of value is in the weight of the metal. The stamp of the mint only certifies that the coin contains full weight, and is of the required purity.

Whoever had 25.8 grains of gold, or 412.5 grains silver, had a dollar, but he must take it to the mint and receive the government stamp upon it, a certificate of weight and purity, before it became a legal tender.

Paper money measures values only so far as it represents these metals. When the possibility of the Confederate paper money

ever being redeemed in these metals disappeared, it lost all purchasing power. When our paper currency was abundant, and the government in jeopardy, its purchasing power varied as the possibilities of its redemption in coin varied.

Silver and gold are not *per se* the standard of values, any more than the pendulum is the basis of measurements and weights *per se*, but they are made so by the enactment of the law. Repeal the enactment fixing their values, and the gold and silver bullion will be at once upon the market with variable fluctuating prices as any other commodity. They were given by law a permanent but a fictitious value, which is very different from the real and intrinsic.

Gold was demonetized by Germany in 1857 and came near being demonetized by all Europe, on account of the monstrous output of the California mines of gold; but when the great mines of silver were discovered in this country, then the purpose was changed and silver was demonetized instead.

Silver has many uses but the principal use of gold is money, three fifths of the world's product being used for that purpose. Were its use as money and its fictitious value taken away, then unless some new use should be discovered, gold bullion would be common and cheap.

The product of these metals from the mines has not been in excess of the needs of our rapidly rising and widening civilization. All our gold and silver combined is not a full basis for our currency. All the gold coined, and all the silver, with the standard amount 412.5 grains, coined into dollars, would not meet fully the condition of the metallic basis. Were a gold or silver dollar to be demanded for every dollar of our currency, every grain of gold and ounce of silver would be taken, and yet there would remain 500 millions of dollars, for which there is neither silver nor gold to redeem, but for the redemption of which in coin the credit of the government is pledged; and to fulfill this pledge it would be compelled to sell bonds and purchase. However, with credit unimpaired, a currency can be floated greatly in excess of the coin actually on hand for its redemption. If gold should be demanded for every dollar of the present currency, as we may

now demand, then after the gold is exhausted there would remain one billion and two hundred million dollars for which there is no gold. If all the silver bullion in store was sold for gold, and paper dollars substituted for all the silver dollars coined, and they then sold as bullion for gold, there would then be not less than 800 millions for which there is absolutely nothing but the pledge of the government.

The basis of values being silver and gold, and the unit 412.5 grains standard silver, 25.8 grains standard gold, any change from this unit might be expected to cause as great confusion in the commercial world as the change in the length of a yard or the weight of a pound. Now 412.5 grains of silver is not a dollar. There is that amount of silver in it, but it is not the silver that makes it a dollar, but the stamp upon it, and the declaration of the government that it shall be exchangeable for a real dollar of 25.8 grains of gold. It is not a dollar because it is silver. The paper dollar is exchangeable for gold, and is just as valuable for that purpose, both paper and silver alike being convertible into gold. From the great pendulum, the standard of values, the silver portion has been taken away and the gold portion stretched out to be the same length as the former combined metals. As the silver and gold portions in the ratio of 16 to 1 were about of equal length, the gold is now drawn out to twice its former length, but the amount of gold in the unit remains the same, 25.8 grains; it therefore reaches twice as far as formerly, and in the measurement of the values of properties reaches over twice as much as before. The 25.8 grains of gold now extend over the former 412.5 grains of silver also. The result is the same as doubling the amount of metal in the old unit, and making 825 grains silver and 51.6 grains gold the dollar. It is identical with splitting the yardstick of extension and placing the pieces end to end, making it twice its former length, and yet it is in a perverted sense the same old yardstick.

The foundation under your house is half brick and half stone, you take away entirely the stone part, and bring no new material, but the brick portion you level down under the building for it to rest upon. It can be plainly seen that the house is

raised only half the height of the former wall. The base upon which all our properties rested was half silver and half gold; when the silver is taken away and the gold thinned or leveled out under it all, it is readily seen how properties have settled to half their former prices.

Gold thus measures twice the amount of property it formerly did, and because all money is now gold by the determination of the government, all money doubles its demands upon property. The mortgage under half a farm formerly, now spread out takes the whole farm. The house and home half paid for is taken by the claim upon the half now spread out under it all. It follows then as a corollary that this change of the unit of value has doubled the burden of all notes, mortgages, bonds, taxes, railroad fares, and obligations of every kind expressed in money. It requires twice the property to pay them it did before. It is not want of confidence, but it is the positive want of property to meet the demands when measured by this new unit. Were such a change of the unit in measures and weights attempted and pressed there would be a revolution; yet this change in unit of values has not caused less confusion and disaster. It never could have been effected if it had been publicly discussed and understood at the time.

Thousands of the honest and frugal have been stripped of the accumulations of years, and ruined, and thousands more are in jeopardy and cannot escape if the old unit is not restored. There was never a time before when debtors were so anxious to pay on the very terms they agreed to pay, and are not permitted, but must face utter ruin because by arbitrary enactment the unit has been doubled, and therefore their debts have been doubled. It is hinted that there is in the world a den of Shylocks, in this year of grace, who planned and accomplished this, and who now, as they sit among their gold, are grinning, with devilish satisfaction, at the wretchedness and woe their greed has caused.

An increase of currency by coining all the silver bullion in the treasury and buying yet additional silver and putting full weight of 412.5 grains in a coin will not meet the difficulty. It only

increases the strain upon the national credit, which is pledged to make it equal to 25.8 grains of gold. The trouble is not in the money as a medium of exchange, the trouble lies wholly in the money as a measure of values. To relieve distress, and right so far as possible the wrong, the old unit should be restored 412.5 silver 25.8 grains gold.

If a change must be made, and all values be measured by gold alone, then an equivalent of the old unit would be 12.9 grains gold for a dollar. This would put the ten dollar stamp on the present five dollar coin, and twenty dollar stamp on the present ten dollar gold coin, and would be a fair and righteous adjustment to the new basis.

How this change in the unit of value is affecting the government now, and how it will affect it in time to come, is worthy of the profoundest thought. The gold reserve has dwindled away and bonds have been sold to buy a new supply of gold; this is also rapidly disappearing. Those in authority who are anxious to maintain the position taken by the government are urging the issuance of more bonds, and desire authority to issue all the bonds necessary to buy sufficient gold to maintain public payment on this gold basis.

To meet this condition fully, it may be necessary to buy 25.8 grains of gold to redeem every silver and paper dollar, and bank note and silver certificate. This will require about 1,300 millions in addition to our present gold supply, and will double our present public debt.

But the amount of gold we now produce in a single year is thirty-five millions. To replace our present currency with gold would require all the product of our mines for thirty years, and pay no interest; but the interest on this vast amount would be not less than thirty-five millions, the whole amount of gold mined in this country, leaving nothing with which to reduce the principal. The whole world produces only 130 millions a year, so that to supply gold as a basis for every dollar of our currency we would be compelled to buy all the gold mined in the world for ten years, leaving the interest unpaid. But as about two thirds of the gold mined is used in the arts, a much longer

time would be required. This purpose carried to its last result can only end in national financial ruin. Honest money on such a basis is only a figment. The most prosperous nation under the sun cannot escape.

The owner of an immense elevator is receiving grains, wheat and corn, and giving certificates to return either grain on demand. He accumulates a vast store of both grains, for all of which he has given certificates, and besides to meet an emergency he has sold 300 million certificates for which he never had any grain. In an hour of hope and confidence he determines to give all who return their certificates wheat, and makes a public pledge to that effect. He has not corn and wheat enough combined to meet his promises, yet when the calls come, and they come rapidly, he draws from the bin of wheat until he sees the bottom. He gives wheat to the parties from whom he received corn. His credit is at stake, and he resolves to meet his promises and maintain his honor. His other bin is bursting with corn, but he disdains to fill certificates with that grain. It is common, it grows in his own familiar valleys, it is raised by his neighbors whom he does not wish to enrich, and he will buy no more. He mortgages himself to buy wheat to pour into the bin from which he is constantly drawing. The end must soon come. His credit must fail and his financial ruin ensue, because of the foolish pledge he voluntarily made. To meet his certificates he must buy up all the wheat the world produces for ten or more years, since that produced in his own land would not meet the interest on the amount. His certificates must soon be dishonored and worthless.

A world's gold money is an idle dream. There is no money good the world over. It is not necessary that all nations should have the same money that they may have close commercial relations. Commerce is the exchange of articles we can spare, for articles we need. We load up a cargo of our goods for China and bring back a cargo of teas and silks. We do not want their money nor they ours.

Nations usually have that which is most advantageous to their own people as a measure of value. We unfortunately do not.

We produce one half of the world's silver but only one fourth of the world's gold.

In every other industry we favor the home product. True patriotism would lead us to champion silver. The greatest mass of gold comes from mines controlled by Great Britain. The war in Southern Africa is to protect British interest in gold mines; but, if we could bring all the world to a gold standard, it cannot meet the world's needs, if we express the world's indebtedness, the national debts, in the terms of our currency, as near as we can reduce the currency of other nations to such an expression, we find the national debts as follows, in 1890:

Denmark	$ 33,004,722
Great Britain	3,848,460,000
United States	915,962,112
Germany	1,956,217,017
Austria-Hungary	2,866,339,539
France	4,446,793,398
Russia	3,491,018,074
Italy	2,324,826,329
Spain	1,251,433,696
Netherlands	430,589,853
Belgium	380,504,099
Sweden	64,220,807
Norway	13,973,752
Portugal	490,493,599
Greece	107,306,518
Turkey	821,000,000
Switzerland	10,912,925
These debts aggregate	$22,955,336,008

This does not include the debts of states and municipalities, of railroads and great corporations which cannot be definitely known, but would likely aggregate a larger amount. The whole annual gold product of the world last year was about 130 millions, two fifths of which is used in the arts, leaving only 80 millions to be used for money. And if this should all be applied in the payment of interest on the public debts it would pay but one third of one per cent. The total product of the gold in the world for the past one hundred years is not in excess of 8,000 tons, or in round numbers 4,000 millions of money. Should the world continue to produce gold as it has during this century it would still require 600 years to gather the gold with which to pay the world's present national debts, by taking all the product, and over 800 years if we take out the usual proportion consumed for other purposes.

J. C. ELLIOTT.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

EXTENSION DEPARTMENT.—The following is a partial list of the local auxiliaries of the American Institute of Civics connected with its Extension Department:

1. Current Topic Club of N. N. U. Hist. Class, National Normal University, Lebanon, Ohio. President, R. H. Holbrook, Ph. D.; secretary, Miss Laura E. Dyer.
2. Fortnightly Club, Washington, D. C. President, Anne Pierce; secretary, Miss Cogley.
3. Mt. Vernon Seminary, Washington, D. C. President, Prof. Wm. Taylor Thorn; secretary, Grace Duncan Wright.
4. The Glen Club, Forest Glen, Md. President, McDwight Williams, Jr.; secretary, Miss Page Robinson. (National Park Academy.)
5. Delphian, Walnut Grove, Miss. President, Homer Casteel; secretary, Temple McClendon. (Miss. Central Normal.)
6. Keystone Current Topic Club. President, Wm. E. Somers, Jr.; secretary, Lillian E. Whitman.
7. Washington Heights, New York, N. Y. President, G. W. Little; secretary, G. T. Wooster.
8. Tuesday Evening Debating Club, New Rochelle, N. Y. President, Charles E. Harvey; secretary, Frank H. Blackledge.
9. Young People's Current Topic Club, McGregor, Ia. President, Charles Jordan; secretary, Bessie P. Daniels.
10. Young Men's Council, Chicago, Ill. President, Harry C. Colie.
11. Octagon Club, Taunton, Mass. President, Mrs. Frank C. Walker; secretary, Miss Alice A. Goff.
12. First Baptist Club, Amsterdam, N. Y. President, Willard Denton; secretary, Frank Q. Miller.
13. Mercer Magazine Club, Macon, Ga. President, Prof. J. R. Mosely; secretary, F. J. Fowler.
14. Helena Current Topic Club, Helena, Mont. President, Mrs. A. B. Clemens; secretary, Mrs. H. P. Kennett.
15. Kit-Cat Club, Calais, Me. President, Mrs. W. H. Murchie; secretary, H. P. Washburn.

16. The Glen Cove Library Lyceum, Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y. President, Sidney B. Bowne; secretary, Miss Irene Seaman.
17. Stambaugh Branch, Stambaugh, Mich. President, Lewis Terwilliger; secretary, F. C. Vilas.
18. Owl Debating Club, Barre, Vt. President, Frank G. Howland; secretary, Arthur S. Martin.
19. Current Topic Club, Bluffton, Ind. President, Addie Smith.
20. Lincoln, Ft. Leavenworth, Kas. President, G. W. Atherton; secretary, Perren Dunn.
21. R. Civic Club, Reidsville, N. C.
22. Wolf Hall Club, Wolf Hall, Denver, Colo. President, Anna L. Wolcott.
23. Hampton Current History Club, Louisville, Ky. President, Miss Fannie M. Fee; secretary, Miss Elizabeth Ekin.
24. C. T. Club, Anderson, Ind. President, Benjamin F. Alford, Jr.
25. Woman's Parliamentary Club, Plainfield, N. J. President, Miss C. R. Yates; secretary, Mrs. Martin I. Cooley.
26. Pasco, Washington.

. . . .

H. D. C. SLATER, who has been for two years the efficient director of the Institute's Extension Department, has been promoted to managing editorship of *Public Opinion*, with which he has long been connected as assistant editor. It will be a matter of regret to all friends of the Institute that his increased labors make it necessary for him to retire from the direction of this department of the Institute's work.

. . . .

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

CALIFORNIA: *San Francisco.*—The flourishing "Civics Club," composed of many of the leaders among the young men of the city, is having a series of successful meetings devoted to the discussion of problems in civics. At a late meeting the chairman, Dr. Hoyt, fully set out the scheme of the Committee on Public Works, stating that the purpose was to bring out the fullest, freest possible debate, and especially all that can be possibly urged against such a policy, and all that can be advanced in favor of it, since by such consideration the minds of the members would be enlightened and the nearest possible approach to the truth attained.

The committee's reasons for its proposed charter amendment were, in brief: Private parties want public franchises for money-making purposes; why should not the city reserve all such to its own profit and benefit? The city of Berlin reaps $1,300,000 profit a year from its gas works, which goes to the benefit of all its citizens. New York pays $1.25 a thousand for its gas; why should not it make it for the people at $1 if it can?

The debaters represented both sides of the question, which was thoroughly and ably discussed.

Of existing conditions in San Francisco, *The Chronicle* says: "There is a common scramble at the city hall to evade responsibility for the

loot of the public funds. The heads of departments accuse the supervisors, while the supervisors inveigh against the heads of departments, and in the confusion of the wrangle both hope to escape unwhipped of justice. It is plain, however, that, while various committees of the board have much to do with the periodic sack of the city, the men who make the larcenous estimates upon which the tax levy is based are also deeply implicated. Moreover, the heads of departments are prone to use the discretion the law gives them in the expenditure of city funds, to exhaust the last available penny either in the purchase of "supplies" at treble the market rates, or in filling the sinecures which the supervisors have created. Not one of these officials can properly claim to have managed his public office as he would his private business. Every department shows examples of extravagance, waste, or dishonesty, and all of them taken together form an Augean stable which nothing less than a river of reform can cleanse."

. . . .

Los Angeles.—In this city, says *The Investor*, there has for some time been a growing feeling that the present system of choosing candidates for office at the dictation of political conventions was radically wrong. No business man employs a book-keeper, cashier, or clerk because of his political convictions, and the absurdity of using any different standards than those of ability, capacity, and character in the employment of public servants is becoming recognized more fully every day.

An influential committee of citizens has issued a call for coöperation in an endeavor to secure better government for this city. With sound discretion the committee refrains from making any charges, and from asserting that the present government is not an unmixed blessing. It simply proposes that when three hundred names are secured, a convention will be called and permanent organization effected.

. . . .

ILLINOIS: *Chicago.*—The Civic Federation is taking steps to prove the legality of the action by which the Chicago Ice Trust has placed extortionate prices on this most necessary article. Referring to this tendency of corporations to combine for self-aggrandizement, Z. Swift Holbrook (A. I. C.) writes in *Bibliotheca Sacra* as follows: "The socialist and the anarchist is no longer society's deadliest enemy; it is some of the conservative and wealthy business men who intensify the struggle for existence by combining to compel the people to pay more than competitive prices for the necessaries of life. How fierce that struggle for existence has become the statistics of deaths and suicides will show, for the death-rate follows closely the cost of living. An increase of a fraction in the cost of life's necessaries increases the death-rate. That is why trusts are unlawful and criminal, and the men who form them deserve to be restrained by force the same as does any other wild beast and deadly foe of society.

"If the state cannot control trusts, then it must itself become the great producer as well as the great consumer, and the first practical steps toward scientific socialism will have been taken. It is

a step which every thinking citizen would deplore, but it is no more deplorable than to see the supposed eternal principles of economics, the natural rights of the individual, and the fundamental conceptions of the duties and functions of the state bound hand and foot and cast into outer darkness, because some private citizens desire to acquire money rapidly, and in order to do it enter into unlawful combinations, and then, when attacked, dodge behind the freedom of contract and the right of the individual to do as he pleases, provided he conforms to the letter of the law."

. . . .

GEORGIA: *Savannah.*—The colored citizens have organized for the purpose of promoting good government in the city and state. Rev. E. K. Love, one of the leaders, said there was a primary recently, but he did not vote because he was not invited. There will be an election, though, he said, and it is the duty of the negroes to organize, not to pledge themselves to one side or the other, but to hold themselves independently and be ready to throw their influence to the side that will give Savannah the best government.

. . . .

RHODE ISLAND: *Providence.*—The organization of the Municipal League has been completed with the election of the following officers: President, Arnold Green; Vice-Presidents, R. H. I. Goddard, Obadiah Brown; Secretary, Thomas W. Bicknell; Treasurer, Oren Westcott; Executive Committee, President Green, Secretary Bicknell, Henry R. Barker, W. H. Waite, James A. Williams, William F. Knight, W. I. Simmons; Committee on Membership, Secretary Bicknell, Amos C. Barstow, H. D. Sharpe, H. S. Tafft, P. J. McCarthy, Rev. W. C. Selleck, W. W. Batchelder.

Hon. Thomas W. Bicknell, A. I. C., was the provisional chairman, and one of the chief promoters of the organization.

. . . .

WISCONSIN: *Milwaukee.*—On behalf of the Ethical Society of Milwaukee, Mrs. Augusta M. Morris recently addressed the Institute of Civics, inquiring as to the steps necessary in order to the organization of a "Civics" section of that society, in affiliation with the Institute. The proposed organization has been made, with Mrs. Morris chairman, and will doubtless be an efficient promoter of the Institute's objects.

. . . .

Winona.—"Good Citizenship Day" was successfully observed at the summer school at this place July 23, with large audiences and ringing addresses by Hon. Wm. Cumbach, A. I. C., Judge Kirkpatrick, and L. H. Vincent.

. . . .

TENNESSEE: *Chattanooga.*—Hon. Geo. W. Ochs (A. I. C.), mayor of this city, on June 16 put the hard line of a forceful veto message on an act by which the city council proposed to bestow valuable franchises to a street railway company without remuneration—to the city. The

message is an exceptionally able exposition of the rights of the public in the premises, and a copy of it will be exceedingly valuable in the hands of mayors of other cities whenever the same question comes before them.

. . . .

MASSACHUSETTS: *Holyoke.*—A Municipal League is in process of organization, with a special view to insistence upon placing only capable and upright men in public office.

. . . .

CHRISTIAN ENDEAVORERS AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.—One of the leading features of Christian Endeavor work is the propaganda in behalf of good citizenship. By espousing this cause, so essential to the perpetuity and purity of republican institutions, the Christian Endeavorers have emphasized the fact, only too often lost sight of by what may be called professional churchmen, that the church is of the people, not above them, and the closer it gets to them the better it will thrive and the more good it will accomplish. Energetic exploitation of the cause of good citizenship is by no means an easy task, for it means that those engaged in it must go to the very bottom pit of our political machinery. It means the elimination from the agencies which are the directing forces of republican government of those elements that tend to and foster corruption, and the substitution for them of better influences. It necessitates a cleaning of the Augean stables of party politics, which is in no wise a delectable job.

But there are other things also that come under the head of good citizenship. Undeviating respect for the law; absolute obedience to its mandates; loyal support of the processes of the judiciary, and of all the agencies of peace and order—all these must be inculcated in and impressed upon the people to make them good citizens. If this is done successfully, such occurrences, for example, as the outbreaks of mob violence in two counties of neighboring Maryland, and the indisposition of the county authorities to ferret out the guilty parties, would never again come to pass. Good citizens would not attempt to subvert the orderly procedure of the courts, and if lawbreakers should do so, the good citizens would do their utmost to discover the guilty ones and bring them to justice.

Good citizenship is the foundation upon which rests the whole superstructure of the republic. While it is the special province of the church to make men fit to become acceptable citizens of the kingdom of heaven, it should not forget that the more conscientious a man is in his relations and in the discharge of his duties to the government under which he lives, of which, in fact, he is a part, the better will be his chances of doing right so far as his obligations to the higher power are concerned.

After all, the whole scheme of good citizenship may be compressed within the compass of eleven famous words: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Upon this hang the law and the prophets.—*Washington Times.*

BENEFITS OF "NO LICENSE."—In a book recently published Rev. David Nelson Beach, of Cambridge, Mass., notes some of the good results coming to that city from the policy of no license which has prevailed there for the past ten years. Among them he names, first, the steady improvement and elevation of city government ideals; second, there has been a wiping out of former lines of division, so that the Catholics and Protestants, evangelicals and "non-religious," work contentedly together, with enlarged understanding of each other's positions, and with new personal friendships; finally, the phrase "the Cambridge idea," has been born, and has gained a place in the thoughts and speech of the people, the power and significance of which is constantly increasing. Broadly interpreted, it stands for civic loyalty and the determination to bring together all the differing elements of a large city for peace and freedom and advancement. Mr. Beach calls the phrase an expression of that "indefinable aspiration through which alone either individuals or communities come to their highest."

* * * *

GOOD STREETS MAKE GOOD CITIZENS.—Noting the feeling toward higher grade street pavements in the cities of America, the *Chicago Times-Herald* takes Indianapolis as the text for a wise and wholesome essay on a topic that is always timely. It says:

"The *Indianapolis News* very justly boasts of the progress of things beautiful which that city has made in the last few years. It is not very long since the physical conditions of Indianapolis were a reproach to the public spirit of its citizens. The muddy streets, bad transit facilities, uneven sidewalks, and general appearance of slovenliness indicated a carelessness of municipal good looks which is not often found at this latitude. To-day Indianapolis is one of the 'show cities' of the country, far better paved than New York or Chicago, and as clean in general appearance as the ever beautiful city of Detroit.

"What has wrought the change? Good streets, says the *News*. 'History here, as everywhere, shows that around street improvement all else has been grouped. Pave a roadway properly, put down cement walks, sod the street lawns, and it is no long while until the ugly country town fences begin to come down, until private lawns begin to be sown and mown and kept as they ought to be kept, until private houses begin to put on paint, and, in short, until the whole standard of taste and neatness advances.'

"This is a situation which we should like to see impressed upon owners of property and public officials in cities much more pretentious than the capital of Indiana. Good streets mean good business, good houses, good prices for land. No investment gives quicker or larger returns than money spent in improving the pavements. We are not sure that muddy, uneven, badly kept streets do not extend their baleful influence farther than property, and actually affect the quality of citizenship. There is a certain air of lawfulness and solvency about a level, well-swept street that is reflected by the people who live in it. They advance in civil pride; they are willing to make sacrifices for the common good; they try to 'live up' to the appearance of their street."

YOUNG MEN IN POLITICS.—Clinton Rogers Woodruff (A. I. C.) in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, speaking of the present duty of young men, says:

"Their work and duty is to take the conditions as they are and make them better; ideal, if possible.

"The young men who founded the Republican party in the fifties did not wait until slavery was abolished before taking political action, but they went to work first to stop the spread of slavery, then to abolish it altogether. How well they succeeded is a matter of history. Their participation in politics at a time when slavery was legal and quite generally approved did not denote an approval of it.

"The analogy between the campaign against slavery and the present campaign against the corrupt influences in our politics, while not at all points complete, is sufficiently strong to be instructive. The young men of the present must go into politics and take an active part, not to approve of corruption, but to limit the sphere of its influence and finally abolish it completely. If more young men who believe in good government and pure political methods, and I believe they are in the majority, should go into politics, I am convinced there would soon be a change for the better. The trouble in the past has been that those whom we naturally look for leadership in such matters have devoted their time and energies to other pursuits, and have left political affairs in the hands of those who have prostituted them to their own private and selfish ends. These latter have obtained and retained control because they are organized. The advocates of good government will make but slow headway except they learn the lesson of effective organization. The force and power of the sentiment for righteousness in a community can always be counted upon; but its effectiveness is multiplied an hundred fold if wisely directed and adequately organized."

. . . .

SCHOOLS FOR STATESMEN.—*Editor American Magazine of Civics*: I read Mr. Tredway's article, entitled "An American Institute of Statesmanship," and was *profoundly impressed*. It is another reason in favor of such an organization as the A. I. C., and demonstrates the *necessity* of a school of politics in this country at the present time. I am a firm believer in statesmanship as a *vocation*. Moses was a great legislator; he presided over the Israelites and taught them the law. The children of our public schools should be compelled to learn the Constitution of the United States of America by heart. If a man can add ten years to the efficiency of his life's work by a college education, why cannot the powers of statesmanship be enhanced by a special study? If I resided in a larger city I would found a school of politics and am satisfied that such an institute would receive proper encouragement from the right source. The need of such an organization or band of patriotic men as compose the American Institute of Civics is manifest. The time has come when all good citizens should unite in this work.

VOL. IX No. 4

MERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS

A JOURNAL OF PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM

CENTS MONTHLY

ONE YEAR $3.00

ANDREW J. PALM AND HENRY RANDALL WAITE EDITORS.

OCTOBER, 1896.

THE CONCERNS OF CIVICS AND GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP RIGHT SOCIAL ORDER. JUST PRINCIPLES, AND RIGHT PRACTICE IN CIVIL ETHICS, CIVIL POLITY, CIVIL LAW AND ECONOMICS. POPULAR INTELLIGENCE, VIRTUE, THRIFT. THE COMMONWEAL OF THE NATION. STATE, COMMUNITY AND PEOPLE.

CITIZENSHIP . . . . . JUDGE WILLIAM J. GAYNOR

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION . . . . . JOHN A. ROEBLING

THE EVOLUTION OF MONEY. II. . . . . JAMES DENTON HANCOCK

DEMOCRACY AND DESPOTISM . . . . . RABBI ADOLPH MOSES

THE COMING STRUGGLE . . . . . FRED E. TASKER

THE LIMITS OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND OF STATE AUTHORITY . . . . . J. McLAIN SMITH

WHOM SHALL WE ELECT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT? . . . DUANE MOWRY

CLEAN STREETS AND THEIR BENEFITS . . . LA SALLE A. MAYNARD

THREE TIMELY TOPICS . . . . . L. A. M.

CENTRALIZATION THE CURE FOR POLITICAL CORRUPTION . . . . . L. P. GRATACAP

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION: A POSSIBLE WORD FOR THE TURK . . . . . W. R. CLAXTON

FIAT . . . . . CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE

APPROPRIATIONS FOR SECTARIAN SCHOOLS . . "LITERARY DIGEST"

CIVICS PUBLISHING COMPANY
NEW YORK – 38 PARK ROW

BOSTON PHILADELPHIA CHICAGO ST. LOUIS WASHINGTON NEW ORLEANS

THERE ARE MANY

UNION PACIFIC — THE OVERLAND ROUTE — WORLD'S PICTORIAL LINE

Cool Retreats

ON THE LINE OF

"THE OVERLAND ROUTE"

YOU WILL FIND

FISHING : : : : In Rocky Mountain Streams.

BATHING : : ; : In Great Salt Lake.

CURATIVE WATER In Utah and Hailey Hot Springs.

Send for Advertising Matter before you arrange for your Summer Outing.

E. DICKINSON, General Manager,
E. L. LOMAX, Gen'l Pass. and Tkt. Agt.,
OMAHA, NEB.

Tips to Lawyers!

IF

YOU ARE A COMMERCIAL LAWYER AND BELIEVE IN

Advertising

YOU SHOULD SELECT CAREFULLY THE

MEDIUM

The Lawyer and Credit Man

And Financial-Trade-Press Review

PRODUCES *RESULTS*

AND THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

Sample copy sent free if you will mention this magazine.

WINSBOROUGH-IRVINE CO.,
Times Building, NEW YORK.

The Colorado Midland Ry.

Is the only broad gauge line to the

CRIPPLE CREEK DISTRICT.

THROUGH PULLMAN SLEEPERS DAILY FROM DENVER AND COLORADO SPRINGS.

BE SURE YOU STRIKE THE SHORT TRAIL THROUGH THE UTE PASS.

GEO. W. RISTINE, Receiver.
W. F. BAILEY, G. P. A. Denver, Colo.

TAKE A TRIP OVER THE : : : :

DENVER & RIO GRANDE R.R. — SCENIC LINE OF THE WORLD

Denver & Rio Grande

IF YOU WISH TO SEE

The Grandest Scenery in the United States.

The favorite Route of both travelers and tourists.

S. K. HOOPER,
General Passenger Agent,
DENVER, COLO.

Bellis CYCLES

ARE THE

Standard

—IN—

HIGH GRADE CYCLE CONSTRUCTION

SEND FOR CATALOGUE.

BELLIS CYCLE CO.,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Digitized by Google

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

VOL. IX. OCTOBER, 1896. No. 4.

CITIZENSHIP.

BY JUDGE WILLIAM J. GAYNOR.

IN the midst of a busy life, I have not the time to resort to books, or to the thoughts and experiences of others, to treat this subject of citizenship which THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS has assigned to me; and I am therefore able to write about it only hurriedly, and it may be not all the time relevantly, from my own imperfect thought and limited experience. We cannot understand the meaning of citizenship without first realizing that its existence depends upon a form of social compact or government under which individual thought and individual right and action are the foundation. Under a despotism, there is no citizenship. The government is under no restraint or control. The governed have no voice in it, and their aggregate intelligence has no guidance of it. Life and liberty belong to no one, and government takes the property of the individual for its necessities and extravagances alike, at will. Under a government created by and subject to the control of the people, under a government by the people, those put in power and authority are the mere servants of the people. The people make laws, and putting some of their own number in authority, say to them, pointing to those laws: "Here is your power of attorney. Read it carefully, and keep within its four corners. You may do only what we have authorized you to do; our lives and liberties you may not take or touch except by due process of law; you may take our property for the necessities of govern-

ment, but you may only take it to the amount, and what is more, only in the manner which we have here authorized."

Nothing more distinctly marks the difference between despotism and government by the people themselves than this limitation upon the power of taxation. With a similar limitation applied to the life and liberty of the individual, we have the form of government under which citizenship in its highest sense exists. The slow process of ages, through contest between subject and ruler, through the steady development of the people, marked at regular intervals by tremendous upheaval and revolution, has brought us to this. This process has been nothing but the gradual extending of the center of thought from the few to the many, which has placed the center of political control among the many also. In this country that is an accomplished fact, and there is one institution, our common school system, which will keep it such. It is what Mr. Beecher called the reign of the common people, which phrase is interpreted by those who like neither it nor the people to mean only those who have no visible means of support. So we start with what citizenship means. Individual responsibility for government, with a mind and a conscience back of every individual, is citizenship in its highest and fullest sense.

Under government by the people, a government of citizenship, every one is a law unto himself, except in so far as precise law, made or accepted by all, permits him or his property to be touched by government. It may well be said, therefore, that the chiefest duty and wisdom of the individual citizen is to keep government at arms' length. The growth and approach of arbitrary power can be prevented in no way except by the individual standing upon his rights, viz., upon his citizenship; saying to government: "We created you, and we have given you just so much power and no more, and thus far you may go, and no farther. You want my life, my liberty, or my property. Show me the precise law under which we have said you may take it; and more than that, take heed that you proceed under that law only in the precise manner which we have prescribed." This is the great principle which stands between the individual-

ity of citizenship and arbitrary power, whether executive or judicial. It is often of very little consequence whether the individual accused of crime be convicted, but it is always of transcendent importance that he be not convicted except in accordance with those forms and safeguards which the people, guarding against a recurrence of arbitrary power, have prescribed.

The tendency of all government is to aggrandize and draw power to itself, and correspondingly lower or destroy citizenship. How imperceptibly in the world's history changes from free government to absolutism have been brought about; and yet, as we read upon a few pages of history what it took many years to gradually develop, it may seem to us, if we are not alert, as though it came about all at once. Despotism always comes with muffled tread. Cicero said of Julius Cæsar that as he had looked at him, and seen him adjust his hair so nicely, and scratch his head with one finger, it had never occurred to him that such a man could conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth. And so it is with the little encroachments and invasions upon the rights and the liberties of the citizen. They appear as commonplace and harmless, if they be at first noticed at all, as Cæsar scratching his head did to Cicero; and yet they are fraught with destruction to government by the people, to citizenship.

Such encroachments always come from the few against the many. Every spark of liberty that has been struck, every advance toward free government and individual right, has come from the unpolished genius of the people. When the powerful and the great built castles, and surrounded them with wall and moat, and haughtily said that even the king might not enter without their consent, the genius of the people was quick to seize the occasion to declare what may seem to us a commonplace maxim, though its first expression was a revolution in government and in human liberty, that every man's house is his castle; and Pitt only elaborated when he said that however humble it was, that though the wind might whistle through it, and the rain enter it, the king could not. This declaration became a barrier around the individual. It did not include

merely his house, but all of his individual rights. It marked the lines within which he was inviolable by government. It gave to each individual a domain of his own, upon which government could not trespass.

Especially to those of us who were brought up in the country, it has seemed that the people in some of the large cities in this country have allowed the police to gradually encroach upon their individual rights. It is not too much to say that such encroachment has several times reached points of extreme danger here in the great population about New York Harbor. For years, for instance, we have not been able to get into a polling place to vote without crowding by policemen in the door. No such thing is suffered in the country, and I know of no free government in which it is deemed tolerable, or not deemed dangerous in the extreme. By what right are they there? And do we stop to think of the mischief they have done by being there? They have too often been there to help one side. Every citizen has the right to come to the polls and claim his rights there, and if they are disputed or denied, he has the right to state and argue his case to the election officials; and yet how often have voters been shoved into the street by the police for venturing to do only that; and any citizen who remonstrated was treated in the same way. This is stating no exceptional case, but what has come to be quite general. It grew imperceptibly, until our people seemed no longer to deem it either a danger or an affront to their citizenship. And yet in any English city, the unlawful interference of a policeman with a citizen even away from the polls, or even with a street woman, creates a blaze of protest, and is likely to be the subject of inquiry and debate in Parliament next day, so keen is the sense of that great people to the rights of the individual, for the attainment of which they so long struggled.

Right here in one locality (Gravesend) this police interference at the polls had grown to that extent that a force of policemen surrounded the polls for several years at elections, and allowed no one to enter without their consent. They actually stood there as the guardians of illegal voters, and of those who stuffed

the ballot-boxes. This was done in the interest of each political party in turn, and each availed itself of it. And yet the police had no right to be there, much less to question or lay hand upon any one who was not committing a criminal offense. The citizen's highest prerogative is to vote, and he does not hire policemen to meddle with him at the polls. Our general election law nowhere authorizes the presence of the police in polling places, but on the contrary it designedly refrains therefrom, and instead expressly clothes the election officers with full power to enforce order and make arrests. The place for policemen is at a reasonable distance from the polls, whence election officers may summon them to take charge of persons put under arrest. We have all read so-called orders and instructions of chiefs of police to their force the day before election, three fourths of which was unlawful, and a usurpation of power.

Many have been looking forward to see some one come into authority who shall declare the rule that it will thereafter be a graver offense for the police unlawfully to interfere with a citizen than to let a criminal escape. The revelations of unlawful police interference, coercion, and humiliation in the particular place I have named, and also by the recent legislative investigation in New York City, will be a subject for the future historian, and from such a state of affairs he will trace the loss of our liberties, or else from the virtue of the citizenship which destroyed it he will trace the growth of a still higher citizenship. And how grave and portentous to such historian will be the fact that the head of the police in New York City had for years been in the pay of persons of vast wealth, acquired principally by the misuse of public franchises, and had been enriched by them. If a critical time should come in our citizenship, viz., in our liberties (as it assuredly will), on which side think you will the historian find such a chief of police with his force? On the side of the people and citizenship, think you? We have to be guided by what history actually tells us of the past. The laws of the universe have not been suspended in our favor.

It behooves the citizen in this country often to call to mind what the main object of our social compact or government was

and is, and to do his part to prevent that object from being thwarted, and his rights of citizenship from being thus impaired. Our system of government avows its main object to be to secure to every one an equal opportunity and a due share, according to his wisdom, his virtue, and his honest skill and industry. It is in this sense that the prime object of government is the promotion of distributive justice to all. This does not mean share and share alike, but to each one the share which he honestly earns. This was the avowed fundamental upon which our form of government was constructed. Have we remained true to it?

It is often said that there is jealousy against individual wealth in this country, but it is untrue. On the contrary, it is true of every locality and community that those who accumulate wealth in any legitimate calling, professional, mechanical, mercantile, agricultural, or other, are subjects of emulation, confidence, and respect. It is wealth got by trick and device, by this means and by that, by the wrongful, unjust, and dishonest use of public franchises, and with the aid of laws making possible the aggrandizement of the few at the expense of the many, which is under the ban of the splendid intelligence and moral sense of the people of this country.

Public franchises, the property of all the people, are not infrequently given away by government one year and bought back out of the people's money the next year. Being given to individuals to enable them to do a public service, they are permitted to overstock and overbond them, thereby to create inflated and unearned fortunes, which the people must thereafter in fares and exactions pay interest and dividends upon. A railroad company with a road that cost say $3,000,000, and could easily earn a large dividend upon that sum out of the public, who have endowed it with a franchise, is bonded and stocked from time to time, until it is paying interest and large dividends upon say $9,000,000 in bonds and stocks. The next step is that another company is formed with no capital, and no excuse for existence, but with paper shares falsely purporting to represent say $30,000,000 of capital, to absorb out of the first company by means of a lease or some other contrivance, all its income over interest

upon its bonds and say ten per cent upon its stock ; and when the dividends upon that $30,000,000 get too large, $30,000,000 more of paper may be added in the same way ; and thus a public franchise, for the use and benefit of all the people, is used for the enrichment of a few out of all the people.

What has been done with the street railroads in our cities furnishes sufficient illustration. And the result of such inflation is always the same ; the attempt by cutting down every just and normal expense to pay dividends thereon follows ; and thus it is always the cause of heartlessness and oppression. Its result is the degradation and oppression of labor, industry, and skill, from the highest to the lowest, by depriving it of the just distributive share which belongs to it in morals and in God's wise economy, and which under normal conditions would be cheerfully accorded to it. Instead of fares being reduced as dividends grow larger than the public should pay, stock and bonds, with neither a dollar nor a day's work back of them, are issued, in order to prevent it ; and thus are created vast fortunes out of the public, the like of which have never before been seen.

It would be easy to mention hundreds of instances. This is in direct opposition to the fundamental principle of our social compact, of equal opportunity to all honest skill and effort, and no favor by law or government to any one. Such transactions have come to be common to every locality in our country. They are the order of the day. In place of being checked by government, they are fostered by government. They cause just uneasiness and discontent, and corrupt public morals. If this condition were to continue, what the end would be no one who has studied causes and effects in history can fail to perceive with clear vision. The prime object of government is to promote distributive justice, and thereby make the governed stable and content ; and no government which does not do this may in the nature of things long endure. That our government, through the instrumentality of the people, educated in our common schools, is not to fail in this in the end is not to be doubted, though it may not be perceived in the present outlook.

The good citizen is jealously but unselfishly vigilant in respect

of government. He is loyal and hearty to government, but will not compromise with official ignorance, corruption, and wrong; and he is unyielding of individual right as against government, knowing that there is no other way to prevent the start and growth of arbitrary power, and the consequent impairment of citizenship. Good citizenship requires that the individual should stand by his honest, thoughtful judgment and convictions; that he should not acquiesce against his own sacred judgment in existing conditions. But he has to be careful and conservative. Established things should not be changed lightly, and he should be careful about calling for change. Nothing should be pulled down until something better has been prepared to take its place. Government, like everything else, is a growth. The British constitution is an example of steady and constant, yet well-considered change and improvement in government. Though it has been constantly changing, in response to the steady demand of the people, so as to keep pace with their progress, and though the changes have been great, and even revolutionary, yet there never was a moment at which the chief part of it was not old.

But while the good citizen is careful and conservative, he must yet remember that there can be no progress without change. We may get instruction from the past, to a great extent, as to what we should avoid, and to some extent as to what we should follow; but the argument that those who have gone before must have been wiser than we are, and that what is ancient must be right, which we hear constantly, is very absurd. No one correctly informed as to the past can take a morose or desponding view of the present. Has not mankind advanced from the beginning? As Sydney Smith said to those who were always appealing to the ancients, "We are the ancients"; and so we are, for the human race grows older all the time. What a finite mind, indeed, the man has who proudly says: "My father never voted anything but the Whig ticket, and I never voted anything but that ticket, and thank God, I never will." As John Stuart Mill says, it often happens that the universal belief of one age of mankind becomes to a subsequent age so palpable

an absurdity that the only difficulty then is to imagine how such a thing could ever have appeared credible.

While the enlightened and good citizen should be careful and conservative, he should also not be blindly content with and in favor of the existing order of things. The existing order of things is often the worst possible order of things. The existing order of things with our remote ancestors was that they ran naked in the woods, and slept in holes in the ground, and no doubt the first suggestion to put on clothes and build huts was denounced. May I say becomingly that the existing order of things crucified Jesus, and that within the lifetime of people who are still young the existing order of things in this Christian country was that one human being might own another? Individuals who stand in the way of progress in government, or in aught else, are not and cannot be good citizens. If we did not outnumber them, the human race would retrograde from this hour. What a long step forward has been recently taken for better government in some of our large cities in spite of these queer people, many of them called leading citizens, and protesting that they were quite comfortable, and that everything was all right. While many have been wondering how better government in our cities could ever be brought about, the common schools have been quietly doing that work, by amalgamating us into one intelligent, harmonious, and self-respecting citizenship. The future political leader in our cities must be a man to match the new voter.

When we look about and see what broad and splendid citizenship has come from the humblest and apparently the most unfavorable conditions and opportunities, and compare it with the citizenship which has come from what might be deemed the most favorable auspices, we find it difficult to suggest anything in respect of training for citizenship. Does that spirit which makes the good citizen come from any special training at all? Gibbon says that the power of instruction is seldom of much efficacy except in those happy dispositions where it is almost superfluous. This may be a border-line statement, and yet any one who tries to set his actual experience with men up against it

will find difficulty. The spirit of liberty and of citizenship comes from the general character of a people, and it may be that an attempt to inculcate it by special instruction would only make it trite. It was kindled and was and is advanced by the meeting together and discussion of the people. Every ruler who wants to kill that spirit tries to prevent the people from coming together to talk. Both the Napoleons resorted to it, even to the extent of taking pains to keep men at work on the Sabbath.

No one can follow the development of free government and of citizenship in England without noting the great part which the inn had in it. There the people met, and made the sparks fly. There was the impact and attrition of mind upon mind which has lifted mankind up. It welcomed all, and grew to be the place of free speech and literary and political development, as well as of good cheer and contentment. It was in the recollection of the many times he had held forth there that Dr. Johnson declared that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity, and no doubt it was in part in the same spirit that the refined Shenstone gently complained that no private roof, however friendly, furnished so warm a welcome as that which was to be found at an inn. The tavern at its best in this country was also a center of political thought and education, and with its gradual degeneration from that high estate may be traced also the opinion of many that in its principal feature it should no longer exist. The two great promoters of political thought and education in this country are our frequently recurring elections and political canvasses, and the jury system. The first draws the attention of all to the conduct of those in power, and also to the principles and policies which are best for the greatest number, while our citizens, serving in turn as jurymen, learn in the courts the fundamental principles which preserve the liberties and the rights of the individual. But of course the foundation and preparation for all this is our common school system, the greatest of all our institutions; the one which has already made us one people out of many conflicting nationalities and bloods, and will make a citizenship equal to all the problems of the present and of the future.

WILLIAM J. GAYNOR.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION.

BY JOHN A. ROEBLING, C. E.

THE key to the economic effects of our vast immigration lies in the question of wages. The great majority of immigrants come here to work with their hands. Why do they come *here?* Because the social and material standards of life of the American workman are higher than those in any country in Europe; or, what is the same thing, for a given number of hours of work, American wages are higher. For the average industrious immigrant this change to higher wages is certainly a most beneficial one. There are, however, two sides to the question. Every immigrant who comes to our shores enters at once into direct competition with the great mass of American laborers already here. To just the extent that their standard of life and wages tends to raise his, his tends to lower theirs. There are, it is true, many forces at work in America, tending, when unchecked by heavy immigration, to raise wages. At a period of commercial depression immigration is usually at a minimum. During this time the natural vitality of American wages soon causes them to rise more or less rapidly. The news of this spreads abroad. Immigration is strongly stimulated. Great numbers of foreign laborers are thrown on the American market and American wages pause in their advance, and then decline (which is the situation of to-day). Even though, on the whole, there be a gain, the inevitable effect of a considerable immigration is to keep American wages lower than they otherwise would be. The whole question of the desirability, from an economic standpoint, of further large immigration, reduces to this: Are high wages for the laboring class an advantage to the nation as a whole?

It would at first sight seem obvious that high wages were most assuredly beneficial to the workingmen themselves. The absence

of hunger and cold, the weapons to fight sickness, the freedom from care and apprehension for the morrow, the means to cultivate the intellectual and artistic tastes, the power to help a fellow creature in distress—in short, every material necessity or comfort depends so directly upon a man's income, that we may say, economically, a man's income is his life. When his income is increased his whole life is broadened and elevated. Some few, it is true, maintain that a rise of wages invariably leads to idleness and dissipation. This may be so, at first, in a few exceptional cases; but in the long run, the broad fact remains that civilization and a considerable individual income are inseparable. One has yet to hear a man advance this objection in connection with his own income.

But some one may say: This is all very true, and very trite. Every one desires every one else to have a large income, the larger the better; but where is it to come from? Higher wages mean either higher prices to the outside public, or else the ruin of the employers. In either case one class is enriched at the expense of another. Even though profits are excessive, possibly entirely unjust in some cases, it would be simply suicidal to drive all of the capital and talent for industrial leadership out of the country by such a policy. It would speedily reduce us to barbarism.

This is an honest objection. It will occur to every one who candidly examines the question in all its aspects; and it should be honestly met. The underlying postulate of the argument is that a workingman can make only just so much in one day, and if he should receive higher wages for it, that same amount of work must thereby become more expensive to some one else, either the general public or the employer. Let us see if this postulate is universally true.

First, as to hand labor. In this aspect man is a machine bearing a close analogy to a steam-engine. The engine is fed with a certain compound of carbon and hydrogen, coal, and we get, as a result, available energy; the man eats certain other compounds of carbon and hydrogen, food, and also gives out available energy, that is, he is able to do a certain amount of work. Now

it is too apparent to call for proof in the case of the engine, that, within rather wide limits, the amount of work we can obtain from it is directly proportional to the amount of fuel we put into it. In view of this similarity between the two, we should expect the same to be true of the man, that, up to the limit of his power of assimilation, the more wages and therefore the more food he received, the more work he could do; so that, within this limit, the labor cost of a given amount of work would be independent of the rate of daily wages. The labor cost, *i. e.*, the wages per day divided by the amount of work done in one day, is the only factor in the problem that affects either the employer or the general public. This deduction, that for hand labor cost is not necessarily proportional to wages, is abundantly proven by the facts. Sir Thomas Brassey has shown in his "Work and Wages," a most interesting and suggestive little book which covers the results of an extended experience with hand labor in all parts of the world, that a given amount of manual labor costs almost exactly the same the world over. The high-priced, beef-eating Englishman does a given quantity of work for the same total cost as the cheap, rice-starved Hindoo coolie. The coolie's wages per day were far lower, but it took just that many more to do a given quantity of work in a given time. And the same for other nationalities—the lower the wages, the poorer the food, the less the work. True, the higher grades of American labor are on the whole well fed, but the wages and the diet taper off gradually to a state of chronic semi-starvation in the case of the sweat-shop workers of the slums. It is in these slums of our great eastern cities, which are most directly exposed to the full force of the tide of immigration, that the competition of the "pauper labor of Europe," with its inevitable accompaniment, starvation wages, is most keenly felt.

But there is another and a more far-reaching force in the field —machinery. Modern science applied to industry has increased man's powers a hundredfold. David A. Wells (in his "Recent Economic Changes," Chapter II.) has given a number of characteristic instances of this increase. Perhaps the most striking example is in the manufacture of pins. Adam Smith pointed

with pride to the fact that in 1776 an improved and minute division of labor enabled a hand worker (with but little machinery) to make 4,800 pins in a day. In 1888, modern machinery enabled one man to turn out 2,500,000 in the same time. Will any one maintain that the labor cost of a pin in 1888 was the same as in Adam Smith's day? Could not the modern employer well afford to pay his workmen many times more wages than the other, and still make a pin more cheaply? What is true of this brilliant little example is true to a greater or less extent of every modern industry. Edward Atkinson has estimated that the labor of ten men for one year is now sufficient to supply one thousand persons for one year with all the wheat bread they would ordinarily consume in that time. George Gunton (in his "Principles of Social Economics," page 263) gives this among other proofs of the same point.* In 1830 a workman in the cotton industry of the United States made, with the machinery of that day, about 950 pounds of cloth in one year. In 1880, after fifty years of progress in invention, one workman with modern machinery was able to make 3,500 pounds of cloth in a year; and although wages rose from $2.55 a week in 1830 to double that amount in 1880, the price of cotton cloth fell from 17 to 7 cents a yard. Machinery from its nature always cheapens. If it does not, it is not a machine—it is a failure. The history of the development of machinery and its effect in reducing labor cost should be one of the greatest interest and importance to Americans, seeing that we are, in this field of civilization, the highest product of the evolution of the human race. If we study the subject carefully we shall find the world over, to-day, and as far back in history as we can trace the facts, that although high class machinery and high-priced labor go hand in hand, yet they always result in cheaper production than where low-priced hand labor prevails.

One essential condition to the economical employment of

* I would also refer those interested to J. Schœnhof's "The Industrial Situation and the Question of Wages," where the question of labor cost as contrasted with daily wages is treated at length. Schœnhof has this merit, that while Professor Gunton reaches the conclusion that the two are independent from the standpoint of a protectionist, Schœnhof, on the other hand, reaches the same conclusion from the standpoint of an avowed free trader. It is presumably only the latter class to whom this argument is addressed, for surely a protectionist can need no argument to convince him of the vital importance of "protecting American labor."

machinery has yet to be considered. Machinery only pays when a large number of objects of the same kind are to be produced. It would not pay to make only one pin a year on the above machine. A railroad company that carried but two passengers annually had better far send them in a coach and four with outriders so far as cheapness of transportation is concerned. For every machine there is a certain minimum output where it just begins to pay better to use the machine than to make the same article by hand. The economical employment of machinery is as much conditioned by this as by the laws of physics and chemistry. The widely extended use of machinery to-day is an infallible indication of a large consumption of commodities somewhere. Where? By the rich? A moment's consideration will show that, with the exception of certain expensive luxuries, the great bulk of the products of our factories are consumed by the laboring class, by reason of their greater numbers. How are these workingmen enabled to buy so much? Simply and solely through the wages they receive. The "home market" is the wages paid the workingmen of America.

This necessary relation between wages and consumption profoundly affects industrial progress. Let us suppose a balanced state of industry where wages are such that everything made for personal consumption is bought and consumed. Consider the effect of new inventions and labor-saving improvements on such a state of industry. One of two things must happen: either the manufacturer confines himself to the original quantity produced, and merely uses the machine to produce that amount with fewer workmen; or else he keeps his whole force at work with the new machinery and turns out a much larger product than before. In the first case he has, by discharging men, to just that extent destroyed their buying power; the general effect of which, taking all the industries of the country together, is to destroy that much of his market. In the second case he has left the workingmen's buying power the same but attempts to sell them more goods, which of course they cannot buy. In either case there will be a gradual accumulation of unconsumed commodities, either in the shape of unsold goods, as such, or in the potential

shape of new factories and machines to make still further quantities of unsalable goods. This unstable condition gradually increases until suddenly some banker, who has loaned capital to accumulate these large stocks, or to build new factories that have scant trade, becomes alarmed for his security, a rush is made to realize on assets which nobody wants, and we have—a panic. The cry is "over-production," and over-production simply means, more than the workingman can buy. *The only remedy for panics, that is more than the merest palliative, consists in those measures which tend to produce a gradual and continuous rise in the general rate of wages in direct proportion to the progress of the science of production.**

A panic involves all classes, the capitalist as well as the workingman. The farmer, in so far as he works with his own hands, is in direct competition with other hand laborers, and is, in the last analysis, dependent for his livelihood upon the general rate of wages in that class; in so far as he is a capitalist engaged in the agricultural business, he is more or less directly dependent for his market on the prosperity of this same great mass of hand laborers. The professional class is dependent on the prosperity of all the others. The higher the organism the more sensitive the whole to the injury of one of its parts.

---

* One would think that the above theory of panics, propounded by Rodbertus-Jagetzow, a Prussian economist in 1842, would by this time be more widely known and understood; especially in this country where commercial depressions so vitally affect all classes. But every nation is prone to magnify the superficial transitory phenomena of its own locality, to the neglect of the fundamental underlying cause. Thus some attributed the panic of 1873 to the Franco-German War, yet France suffered far less from it than did victorious Germany; some are convinced that panics are the result of protection, others of free trade, yet England and America both suffer; and in this country we have the spectacle of one half of the population earnestly maintaining that the panic of 1893 was the result of demonetizing silver, and the other half with equal fervor protesting that it was demonetized too late!

The gradual increase of manufacturing capacity out of all proportion to the possible demand is clearly shown by the largest and most accurate body of statistics available in this connection, the "Annual Statistics of Manufactures of Massachusetts." In the following table the first column shows the "proportion of business done," that is, the percentage of the total capacity that was actually utilized. The second column is the reciprocal of the first and shows how much larger the capacity was than the demand.

	Amount actually made ÷ total capacity.	*Total capacity ÷ amount actually made.*
1886	77.5 per cent.	1.29
1887	78.2	1.28
1888	77.5	1.29
1889	73.8	1.35
1890	70.3	1.42
1891	68.6	1.46
1892	69.4	1.44
1893	61.5	1.63
1894	59.1	1.69

The second column shows that the capacity in excess of the effective demand rose from 29 per cent in 1886 to 63 per cent in 1893, the panic year.

As for wealth, so for health. A half-starved body is the best possible breeding place for disease. If to this be added the crowding and unsanitary conditions generally of the tenement district, and over and above these the constant influx of immigration from the plague spots of the Old World, there will radiate from them in all directions and through all classes of the community a death-dealing swarm of contagious diseases. A conservative estimate of the annual number of deaths in the United States directly traceable to these causes would be 150,000. It would be indeed a bloody war that required the sacrifice of as many lives as we pay every year for—the privilege of having slums.

We cannot afford to pay low wages. We cannot afford to let unrestricted immigration keep them low. For the sake of our own people, for the sake of those foreigners who are already here and under the protection of our flag, we must restrict immigration. And if we are to remedy all these evils, it must be, not a half-hearted restriction of a few paupers or criminals or insane, but a drastic restriction of seventy-five per cent of all immigration; that will, for some time to come, keep out all whose standard of life, and therefore of wages, is below the average standard of the American people.

To this end no measure would appear more suitable than one providing that, after a certain date, no adult male immigrant under sixty years of age shall be allowed to enter the United States unless he is able to read and write at least the rudiments of the *English* language. As the usual proportion of immigrants who could fulfill this requirement is about twenty-five per cent, it is evident that such a measure, properly enforced, would be perfectly effective for the end in view. It is less harsh to the actual immigrant than a head tax. It has the further merit of being extremely simple and easy to apply in practice.

This method of restriction seems at first sight to be unduly severe to those born to a different tongue. It must, however, be remembered that any form of restriction of immigration is at the worst a negative injury. We do not attack the immigrant in his own country, or take from him anything he already actually pos-

sesses; we merely take from him the potential right to injure us. The opportunity is left to any industrious foreigner of ordinary intelligence, by patient, persevering study, to acquire the rudiments of English. The best element of every nation—those who consider American citizenship an honor worth some sacrifice—undoubtedly could and would do so.

On the other hand, the twenty-five per cent who did enter would be in the most favorable condition possible for rapid assimilation into the great body of the American people. First, because a portion, those from the other branch of the Anglo-Saxon family, by reason of racial traits and previous history, are of all others those most nearly in accord with our free institutions; and secondly, because, even with other races, a working knowledge of the English language places them at once in touch with our people in business and social intercourse—in touch with our press, our literature, our history. For the immigrant himself, however great his sacrifices in learning English may have been, he can enter this country with no better capital than the ability to read and write our language.

Such a thorough restriction of immigration would undoubtedly raise wages, and this not unequally in different trades and places, as is too frequently the case with present methods whether by strikes or by legislation, but by a gradual steady pressure over the whole industrial field. Wages would rise—perhaps *too* rapidly. The following checks to a too sudden rise remain: We have, first, to lessen the difficulties of the transition period, a more than sufficient amount of crude labor power already here; witness the considerable number of the unemployed. We have, further, the latent possibilities of our great negro population in the South. We have machinery. During the construction of the buildings of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, the greatest difficulty was experienced in finding enough men to finish the painting within the required time. Then necessity, the mother of invention, brought forth a painting machine, worked by compressed air, with which one man could do the work of six. In some portion of almost every industry machinery is on the verge of displacing hand labor.

The mining of coal is a prominent instance. The machinery is not used, because the natural inertia of the average employer makes him averse to experiment and innovation. It is not too much to say that at present nine tenths of the employers have their new machinery forced on them by their rivals. American engineers and inventors stand ready, waiting but for the stimulus of a sharp rise in wages, to carry labor-saving machinery to a point undreamed of to-day. If those who are fearful lest, without free immigration and cheap hand labor, there will be no one "to do the digging on our railways and canals," will but walk along the banks of the new Chicago Drainage Canal, with its hydraulic dredges, its steam shovels, its channelling machines, and its high power derricks and conveyers, they will find that the world has moved since Darius completed the old Suez Canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, five hundred years before the Christian era.

Lastly among the means for increasing our labor power independently of a large immigration, we have industrial education. The value of a good industrial education to a workingman is the difference between the wages of a skilled and an unskilled laborer. If every one of the 5,000,000 or more unskilled laborers in the United States could be educated up to the point where they were worth one dollar more per day, it would mean an addition to the productive power of the country of $1,500,000,000 a year—the amount of the national debt. Conversely, no measure would so stimulate trade schools in this country as restriction of immigration with the consequent rise in wages. The more remunerative a trade, the more who will seek to enter it. Further, anything that increases the use of high class machinery exacts a higher standard of the workman. A hod-carrier cannot run a locomotive. It is not too much to hope that restriction of immigration and other wage-raising measures will, in the course of industrial evolution, completely transform the workman from an ordinary unskilled hand laborer to a highly educated, highly paid, professional man, of professional standards and efficiency. When this point is reached, strikes, with their frequent accompaniment of riot and disturbance of the outside

public, will have become unnecessary and will disappear. Already in the case of the highest grade of skilled labor in this country, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, strikes are becoming extremely rare. In the professional class they are unknown.

To some, perhaps, restriction of immigration will appear to be a most sudden and unwise reversal of the time-honored policy under which we have grown to be, in material prosperity, the greatest nation in the world. But is it a complete reversal? The position here taken is simply that an immigrant whose standard of life is below the average in this country tends to lower that standard, either directly or by retarding its natural advance; but the converse is equally maintained, that if an immigrant is above the average standard of this country he thereby raises that standard. When the first white man came to America his standard of life was far above that of the Indian. Immigration increased, but the dangers and expense of the voyage, and the hardships of frontier life, shut out all but the most daring and energetic. It is because our ancestors were made up of the most enterprising of every nation that we are the most energetic of all races. Even when the conditions of admission to American citizenship became less rigorous, the abundance of unoccupied fertile land gave to every man the opportunity to rise rapidly to the American level. To-day, that wild and desperate rush into Oklahoma tells us that the reserve power of assimilation is almost gone. To-day, the great fall in steerage rates has opened the gates to all. Nature will no longer solve our problem for us, we must solve it for ourselves. Nevertheless, in spite of the checks in former days, many who were below the American standard did enter; and so far from our past policy being a perfect guide for the future, it is on the contrary certain that many of the evils from which we suffer to-day would have been avoided, had the policy here recommended, of restriction on economic grounds, properly proportioned to the standards of the day, been adopted from the beginning.

On the other hand, while immigration of the proper economic standards was good in the past, it is just as necessary to-day.

Absolute exclusion is utterly foreign to the spirit of this policy. Neither the most restriction nor the least restriction, but a golden mean of the best restriction is what is advocated. The best twenty-five per cent would still enter. These are needed. We are in some danger, even in progressive America, of becoming set and narrow in our ways. In theoretical science, in art, in national defense, we are relatively weak. We have something yet to learn from the best of every race. Arbitrary restriction on racial grounds would be a most suicidal revival of the mediæval antipathy to strangers; and God forbid that at the end of this nineteenth century of religious liberty we should attempt restriction on religious grounds! No, we shall always need new blood, competition, but competition on a much higher plane than that for a bare subsistence.

Finally, we must ask of those who, from the highest and most unselfish motives, insist that this country was destined as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations: Is it not our first duty to care for those who are already here and under our protection? Is it not then, as maintained by Francis A. Walker, our highest duty to make this great American experiment in political and economic freedom a complete success, a glorious example to all the world?

There are two views of the labor question. One is, that cheap production and the complex civilization resting upon it depend after all on the great mass of humanity working for but little more than a bare subsistence, that is, for low wages. Those who hold this view will continue to favor unrestricted immigration as the most powerful force checking the rise of American wages. The other view is, that, with proper distribution, the progress of science has now made it possible to offer every one something more than the crudest necessaries of life. Those holding the latter view will favor temporary restriction of immigration as the most direct practical method of attaining that result available to-day. Temporary restriction, until that day, when, our own national problem solved, we are able to offer all the world, not a tenement house and four dollars a week, but true American prosperity.

JOHN A. ROEBLING.

THE EVOLUTION OF MONEY.

BY JAMES DENTON HANCOCK.

PART II.

FOR many years it has been the dream of numismatic economists that a system of international coinage might be established by agreement between commercial countries; and the dollar, or some multiple thereof, has been suggested as the common unit of values. There can be no question that in the line of convenience, which is the basic principle of the use of money, this reform would be extremely beneficial. In all international transactions it would be more simple and less expensive; it would tend still further to bring all the people of the world into a common brotherhood founded on the enduring basis of common interests. While it could not displace gold as the ultimate measure of value, it would again make silver the popular medium of exchange in the everyday, ordinary transactions of life throughout the world. It would give to it a fixed and universal use. Such use would doubtless be greatly enlarged, the market extended, and the value increased. The functions of the two metals would be controlled by natural limitations; financial confusion would be terminated; credit, placed upon a firm foundation, would be enabled to multiply its legitimate work, and the breezes of prosperity would again fill the sails of enterprise and business.

If, however, the final tendency of the evolution from silver to gold, to increase the burden of debt, should be even greater than we anticipate, we must not forget that the natural law by which the subject is controlled cannot be reversed; that the primary purpose of money is to facilitate exchange, not to pay debt; that the daily exchanges of a city like New York through the clearing house alone often exceed $100,000,000, and that the daily exchanges throughout the world are probably equal to the whole

debt of the world; that improvements in any department of business have never been and can never be rejected because while they bring blessings to some, they bring misfortune to others. Such is the history of human progress. So likewise, although individuals and nations may have wisely or unwisely loaded themselves down with obligations payable in the common medium of exchange, it would not be expected that the law which governs both exchanges and the medium of exchanges should be reversed; that the progress of the world should be turned backward, that the incident should be made superior to the principal in order to give doubtful relief to those who have suffered from their ignorance or disregard of inexorable natural law.

It must be recognized that there is a considerable portion of our people who are in favor of a return to silver as the standard of values. They are to be found in all parties and in every part of the country. The financial conditions likewise are favorable for the consummation of their hopes. By act of Congress both gold and silver are made legal tender at the ratio of 1 to 15.98. By another law, the obligation is imposed upon the government to maintain them at an equality. This can only be done by the government redeeming all obligations in gold. If such obligations were paid in silver, gold coin would immediately vanish from circulation, and the business of the country would at once be done upon the silver standard, which is now about one half the value of the gold standard. To maintain the present standard the government possesses but $100,000,000 in gold with which to redeem the amount of $1,000,000,000 of its currency obligations. If the disposition existed, this small reserve could be wiped out in a single day and the government left in a bankrupt condition, notwithstanding the vast resources of the nation and notwithstanding unbounded confidence in its ability to meet all present and future liabilities. That this disposition does to some extent exist, is evident from the recent frequent withdrawals of gold from the treasury in exchange for currency; that it has not existed to a larger extent is because of the steady faith of the people that the government will maintain its present standard of values.

There are two ways in which a change in the standard of values can be averted. The first is by borrowing to meet the constantly recurring drain upon the gold reserve. With heroic persistency the president has time and again gone to the limit of his power in borrowing money to meet the exigencies of the treasury; but from the nature of things the exercise of such power can be but temporary; for whenever capitalists shall have lost faith in the sincerity of the people through Congress to maintain its present standard, they will cease to lend, and the nation will be upon a silver standard or upon no standard of values.

The second way is to prevent the use of treasury notes in drawing gold from the United States Treasury. How can this be done? The president and secretary of the treasury have recommended the heroic remedy of paying off the entire issue of treasury notes and thus to end for all time the wretched business of the government acting as banker, not only for this country but for the whole world. To this there are two objections: first, the exaggerated fear of a great contraction of the currency, and second a large increase of the interest-bearing debt of the country and consequent increase of the burdens of the people.

It seems to me that the same result could be more easily accomplished without any contraction of the currency and with but little, if any, increase in the bonded indebtedness. Practical experience has shown that a secure paper currency is the most convenient and popular currency in use. The national banks are compelled to maintain a reserve in lawful money including treasury notes of from fifteen to twenty-five per cent of their liabilities; in practice other banks and banking houses maintain a reserve of a nearly equal proportion to their liabilities.

These liabilities, in the aggregate, amount to about $3,500,000,000. Under the present system the banks as well as the people can and do use the treasury notes accumulated in their vaults for withdrawing gold from the treasury, then dispose of the gold and again accumulate notes to be again used in a similar way. It forms an endless chain for depleting the treasury of gold and eventually of destroying our present standard of value.

To break this chain it would only be necessary to enact a law which should provide that when the notes of the government had been once formally redeemed, they should be cancelled and retired from circulation. We should be then in a situation in which the temporary convenience of the greenback as an instrument to procure gold would come in direct conflict with its permanent use as a reserve for the banks and a medium of exchange for the people; in which conflict the temporary would quickly yield to the permanent convenience. The first notes retired would probably be the last ones offered for redemption. The results would be that there would be no contraction of the currency; that while such notes may on account of their convenience be treated as currency as incidental to their real character as obligations for the payment of debt, when paid, the incident would cease with the principal; that the gold already in the treasury would be more than sufficient to pay all notes likely to be offered for redemption, and the balance could be added to the currency now in circulation; that in future only a nominal reserve would be necessary; that the greenback would no longer furnish an argument and an excuse for the false and mischievous conception of fiat money; that the issue of paper money by government would pass out of use and out of the remembrance of the people, and finally that the development of the currency of the future would be relegated to the people and the banks, where it properly belongs.

Unless some remedy like this is adopted for our financial ills, sooner or later we shall lose our present standard of values. And how great will be the cost! For sixty years the nation has been upon a gold standard. During that period every obligation throughout the length and breadth of the land has been finally payable in gold. When the change shall come, the government will be bankrupt and dishonored. Every creditor will be defrauded of one half of what is due him. Men who are dependent upon salaries or wages will for the long period required for readjustment be compelled to receive one half in value of that to which they are entitled. Credit will for a time be paralyzed; a panic such as has been unknown in our history

will ensue; and finally, in the opinion of the commercial world, our country will sink into the isolated and dishonored position of the Mexican and South American Republics.

Has not the time come when patriotic American citizens, disregarding party ties and names, shall make themselves heard in favor of preserving the national honor?

What we call paper money is not money. It has no value, and therefore cannot measure values. Yet it may be current as money because it may represent money and value. It must do both in order to be current. It may claim to represent money, but if it does not also represent value it is worthless and no degree of power can compel its use in exchange for honest labor and capital. The ability to redeem at the present moment may not exist, but there must be confidence among the people in future ability to redeem; the value of the paper as currency will be in proportion to that confidence, and when such confidence ceases to exist the paper becomes worthless as currency. To this rule there is no exception. It is equally true with the paper of the greatest government as with that of the poorest individual; confidence is based upon ability, and ability depends upon value in some form or of some kind.

Paper money is either in form or substance a promise to pay real money or some substance convertible into money. Thus a government or an individual might issue a paper and declare on its face, "This is a dollar." It would be worthless unless coupled with an obligation or provision that the paper would be paid in value, in which case the promise would be implied.

It is through losing sight of this distinction that so often has arisen the fallacy of fiat money, which never has existed and never can exist.

In order to be current, the paper must promise to pay on demand, otherwise it would not be convertible immediately into value equal to the amount mentioned upon its face; payment could not be compelled until the obligation is due, and this might depend upon a number of contingencies.

The primary natural right to use credit in this form is equally inherent in the individual, government, bank, or other corpora-

tion. In application, however, under social conditions, as in the case of every other primary natural right, experience has shown that the unrestrained use of this primary right of credit has been attended with evils which required limitations upon its exercise. The evolution of society is a history of measures which, while intended to leave and protect in the individual the greatest liberty in the exercise of his primary rights for his own practical good, have placed limitations upon the exercise of those rights to the injury of his fellows. It has been the unceasing conflict of ages. When government has provided and enforced these limitations on private right, it has been called police regulation, and such regulation is essential to the existence, good order, and prosperity of society. If society should not have this power it would burst its bonds and dissolve into anarchy; the power to restrain and regulate conflicting rights must therefore somewhere exist and be capable of enforcement.

Experience has amply shown the manifold dangers arising from the unrestricted use by individuals and corporations of this kind of currency. It has been the instrument of fraud to ruin multitudes, chiefly composed of the poor and feeble and those least able to take care of themselves. In the hands of ignorance it has been a weapon of destruction not only to those who used but to those who issued the currency. It has been destructive of credit, which is both the instrument and symbol of the highest civilization.

Experience has shown also that when this form of currency has been employed by government it has usually been attended with evils which far exceeded any benefits derived therefrom. The Banks of Venice, Genoa, and Amsterdam were merely departments of their governments, and while for a period they promoted the ambition and sustained the oppression of a few tyrannical rulers, ended in the suppression of popular liberty and the destruction of government. The misery entailed by the *assignats* of France, the continental money of America, and the paper money of the different colonies which now constitute this republic cannot be described. When government was in the hands of a sovereign, it was used to carry out ambitious projects

and to deprive his subjects of their liberties and prosperity. Where government was controlled by party it was used to exalt the power of the party to control and to depress the influence of their opponents. In every case, whatever may have been the necessity for its use, such use has always been followed by a long train of evils. It is no wonder, then, that by common consent the most civilized nations have limited the use by government of this form of credit to periods when their existence was at stake—when involved in war, under the dark shadow of which all laws become silent.

Banking in its primary application was simply dealing in money and its securities. We find the rudiments of the business existing in ancient Greece and Rome, but generally limited to its simplest forms. The handling, loaning, and securing of money obviously required a larger knowledge of the conditions of business, its secret currents the contingencies of trade, the effects of good and bad government upon industry and credit, than was required in any other department of life. In the Middle Ages the banker was the Jew, who, under constant persecution, was compelled everywhere to study the conditions of civilization ; and carried his effects in the form of personal property from country to country where profits were largest, and his property was best protected by law. After the Jew, the gold and silversmith, dealing in precious metals, became the principal banker ; but during all ages, under the law and against the law, his business continued to grow in extent and importance. The obligation for money loaned and the pignus or pledge for its repayment required peculiar precautions for their security in the shape of strong buildings, safes, and careful watchfulness ; this led to deposits by neighbors and friends, and the obligations given for such deposits led to the demand notes which constitute so large a portion of the currency of every commercial country. Thus step by step has the importance of the business grown, and so extensive is the knowledge of affairs required to handle it successfully that one of the greatest philosophers of modern times has designated it as the crown of all human industry ; and by a natural evolution it has monopo-

lized the right to make and issue what is known as paper money.

Yet even with banks the exercise of the right is so important, the ignorance, frailty, and weakness of human nature make it so dangerous to the public, that government has always subjected it to the strictest regulation.

In the United States the methods by which government, either state or national, has allowed banks to issue paper money, under the light of experience, have never been entirely satisfactory. From the beginning of the century to 1862 the issue of such money was practically limited to state banks. The laws regulating such banks in each state were different from those of every other state; in a young and growing country, where enterprise is largely based on anticipation, solid security was too often neglected; the currency was not uniform, and liability to counterfeiting and forgery added risks to its use which it was almost impossible for human knowledge, much less human ignorance, to escape. In times of business panic and disaster, in many of the states, the system totally collapsed. In other states, however, where the banks were carefully regulated and managed, they withstood the shock, thus showing that the system was not essentially unsound. Notably was this the case in New York and New England, which furnished the types upon which the national bank system was subsequently framed. Notwithstanding these exceptions, want of uniformity and difference in regulation with the evils attendant thereon will forever condemn the old state bank notes as a satisfactory currency.

In 1862, while under the stress of civil war and through the exercise of war power, which recognizes no conflicting law, the Congress of the United States taxed the state bank circulation out of existence in order to substitute for it a system of national bank currency. Experience has shown that the latter system has been the safest and least troublesome to the note-holder ever tried in this country; but it has also developed faults which in the end are destined to counterbalance its virtues.

While under their different constitutions the governments of the states possess all powers not specially withdrawn by the people, the government of the United States possesses no power

which is not specially granted by the people or necessary to the exercise of such power so expressly granted. The national constitution contains no power to create banks; and it was early decided by the Supreme Court of the United States that national banks could be established as a necessary incident only to the power granted to borrow money. The national banks were established as instrumentalities to borrow money; the whole system, therefore, is based upon their ownership of national banks; circulating notes issued by them are limited by the amount of such bonds; and when the bonds are redeemed by the government, the national bank circulation must also cease to exist. One of the qualities of an ideal currency is that it shall increase with the growth of population and business. At least twenty years have elapsed since the national bank currency ceased to increase, and since that time it has actually decreased, and a short period longer, if the government redeems its obligations, will put an end to all kinds of bank currency. The effect has been a constant tendency both to a relative and actual decrease in currency, and a lowering of values, both of commodities and labor. It is no answer to this fact to state that there is an actual increase of money in the country, when the further fact is considered that a large portion of this money is retained in the vaults of the government and banks as a security for the redemption of the other portion.

What, then, is the present monetary condition? The state bank circulation has been abolished, and from inherent faults in the system is never likely to be restored. Under the national constitution banks can only be established as instrumentalities to create debt. The general government has as a rule not only ceased to make debt, but is so rapidly paying it off that national bank circulation has practically ceased to exist under its legal limitations. Under the Constitution the national government has no power to declare that anything shall constitute money except gold and silver. It is true that under the stress of the Civil War what are called legal tender notes were declared to be money; but, although all kinds of reasons were given as excuses for this extraordinary exercise of power, such exercise was finally

treated as a war measure for national existence; and which, therefore, disregarded the law. At this day, in a time of profound peace, no statesman of any responsible party would consider the government warranted to resume the issue of such paper as money. Nor is this all; the displacement of silver by the extension of commerce and the use of credit has tended to create a greater use and, therefore, a greater comparative value for gold. It is true that the use of credit has been substituted for both gold and silver, and has greatly modified, if it has not neutralized, this tendency; but under present conditions, when the use of credit has also been impaired, the fact is worthy of consideration. If it should be asked, why not restore silver to its former position in monetary affairs? the answer is, that it is impossible. Revolutions do not go backward. The same law of convenience which has displaced silver would still continue, and the only effect would be the utter destruction of credit which is now based on gold, and a general confusion of business. As the use of credit has displaced silver, and cannot itself safely be displaced, the proper remedy lies in the development of credit within its natural limits.

There exists a serious objection to the principle upon which our present national currency is founded. The amount of currency depends always upon the amount of national bonds held by the banks. To be a permanent benefit, it must assume that such bonds must not only never be paid, but must constantly increase, while policy requires that the government should not only not increase but pay off its indebtedness. To meet this objection it has been proposed to allow also state and municipal obligations to be used as security for bank currency. The same objection holds to this suggestion, removed only one step further back, with the further objection that it would then become the interest of the banks to encourage improvident state and municipal government in order to maintain their circulation.

The great evil of such a system is, that it lacks expansive power, while under a correct system currency should expand with the growth of population and business. The true basis of credit is solvency, and in the case of bank notes this solvency

should be so guaranteed that, as far as possible in human affairs, confidence should be absolute that they shall be redeemed according to their promise, without artificial limitations to their expansion to meet the wants of population and business.

It will thus be seen how great a problem is before the national legislature. It is not, however, a problem which cannot be solved. I now recall two facts which must be apparent from what has before been said herein. First, the power to issue paper as money is not essential to the business of a bank. Banks have always existed and now exist without the use of such power. Second, that in so far as state bank notes are circulated beyond the borders of the state in which the banks are organized, they cannot from the nature of things be subject to efficient regulation either by that state or by the other states in which they are circulated. Such regulation must come from a broader jurisdiction; and if they are regulated at all it must be done by the national government.

In a new application of legislative power to correct the errors of existing laws, it must be remembered that the primary purpose of government and particularly of the government under which we live is not to interfere with, but to protect and regulate the people in their business to the end that with equal liberty they may attain the highest degree of comfort and prosperity. In other words, as far as possible consistent with the rights of their fellows, people should be let alone to manage their business in their own way. With this primary principle in view, a law framed to correct our currency system should likewise accord with three other principles of good government. First, it should harmonize with the organic law; second, it should conform to well-established principles of political economy; and third, it should as far as possible harmonize with the existing system, in order to avert the disturbance and disaster which frequently result from radical changes in the law.

I am aware that those who propose constructive legislation venture upon dangerous ground; and especially is this the case at the present time, when nearly every person that we meet has some remedy to propose for correcting the evils of our currency,

and is therefore generally opposed to every other remedy. I cannot, however, refrain from asking my readers to consider the merits of the Scottish and Canadian systems, which have endured the test of many years' experience, which if adopted here could create no disturbance in the national finances, and which I believe could be so applied as to be in full harmony with economic law.

The associated banks of Scotland have been in existence over thirty years, and during that period there have been only two failures and the currency issued by them has always been redeemed in gold. The bank system of Canada, which is the Scottish system somewhat modified, has been in existence about ten years, and although it has been compelled to undergo depression and panic, but one bank has failed, and the currency has always been redeemed in gold.

Under that system a bank may be organized anywhere in the Dominion with a capital of $500,000, and is authorized to issue in currency the full amount of its capital. To secure this currency each bank is compelled to pay to and maintain in the treasury of the Dominion five per cent of the amount of its circulation; the Dominion guarantees the redemption of the notes, and the banks are subject to frequent inspection by the government. We have here the two elements of an ideal currency, practical security and the power of unlimited growth located where it is most needed. The note-holder is secured by the guarantee of the government and of all the other banks, which are bound to make good the losses incurred from the insolvency of their associates. The government is secured by the entire assets of the associated banks, upon the property of which the notes are made a first lien; and the whole system is protected by frequent and rigid inspection by competent persons of the condition of each of the banks.

The benefits derived from such a system of currency appear when rates of interest paid in Canada are contrasted with those paid in the United States. In the former country the nearly uniform rate throughout the land is five per cent. In New York, where the banking capital is centralized, interest has been

as low as two per cent, while in some of the states in the West and South, where under the present system there are and can be few banks, money could not be borrowed for twelve per cent.

In one respect, however, it would seem that both this system, as well as our national system, might be improved. It has been usual to require that banks should maintain a large reserve in legal tender money, and the amount of such reserve was usually based upon the amount of the capital, and the best authorities claim that it should be equal to 33 per cent. Slight consideration will show that the amount of capital is no fair index to the amount of business or liabilities of any bank. The reserve is maintained solely to meet liabilities. It has long been the custom of banks to accept what are known as time deposits upon which interest is paid, and which are payable at an indefinite time in the future. Usually these deposits run on from year to year without much change and are easily provided for as they mature, but in times of panic and distress they are rapidly withdrawn, always to the inconvenience and often to the ruin of the bank. Experience has shown that a reserve of thirty-three per cent of the liabilities is unnecessarily large in ordinary times. By permitting the banks to maintain a small proportion of its reserve, say at least ten per cent in money and the balance in marketable interest-bearing national, state, and municipal bonds which are all liens upon industry, the source of all value, there would be little temptation to reduce the reserve to so low a condition that they would be unable to pay their obligations in periods of monetary distress.

As herein modified, without disturbing the national banking system, why not engraft the Scottish, or rather the Canadian, system on our state banks? Under the regulative power of the general government as to interstate currency, such banks as desired to issue such currency could be required to pay to and maintain in the national treasury such percentage of their circulation as would secure the note-holder against anticipated loss; they could be made subject to official inspection; could be required to transact their business under rules provided for the safety of their notes, and the obligation to pay such notes could

be made a first lien upon their property and resources. At the same time, as state banks, their property would be subject to state taxation, and a distinction which has always been odious to the people would thus be terminated. Nor at the same time, without complying with these conditions, need state banks be prohibited from circulating notes in the states in which they are located, provided such notes show the limits within which they can be lawfully circulated, and by proper penalties are prohibited from circulating elsewhere. It is manifest that very few of the notes last mentioned would be issued, for the reason that their circulation would be limited, and because, not having proper guarantees of payment, they would not have the confidence of the public.

If it is asked, Where do you find the power in the national government to regulate the circulation of notes issued by state banks? the answer is manifest and conclusive. The Constitution gives power to Congress to regulate commerce between the states, and the further power to enact all other laws which may be necessary to that purpose.

In sustaining and applying the Interstate Commerce Law, the courts have held that Congress may not only regulate commerce, but also regulate the instrumentalities of commerce. There can be no question that currency is one of the most important instruments of interstate commerce. We might even go further and claim it to be an essential element of commerce. As, therefore, Congress has accepted and applied the power to regulate the business of railroads so far as it pertains to interstate commerce, notwithstanding the railroad companies are organized under the state laws and subject to state control, for the same reason Congress has the power to regulate currency issued by state banks so far as such currency is an instrument of interstate commerce, regardless of the fact that such banks may be organized and controlled by the states. It may go even further, and for the security of the note-holder beyond the limit of the state in which the bank is located, prescribe the conditions under which the bank should issue such currency. A currency issued under such conditions would really be a national currency by whatever name

it might be called, and no just objection could be raised to calling it by its proper title, to wit, a national currency.

In this connection also the desirability of retiring what are known as the United States legal tender notes is worthy of consideration. They were issued under the war power; were intended only for temporary use, for their value has always depended upon the credit of the national government, and for their prompt redemption it is necessary for the government to maintain a very large gold reserve. At this time they are a weakness instead of a strength. While for their real value they depend upon credit, the government, by its mere fiat, has declared them to be money, and they are therefore a standing argument among a pestilent class of ambitious demagogues, in favor of a power in government, by its mere fiat to create value, and in every depression and panic are an excuse for the exercise of such power. They thus remain as a standing menace to the credit of the country and to all business institutions which depend upon that credit.

If an expansive currency should be permitted upon the same lines above indicated, it would be easy to gradually and quickly retire this legal tender currency without disturbance to general business, and but a short time would elapse until the country would resume its former activity, which, with its enormous productive powers, would easily place it in the van of all commercial nations.

JAMES DENTON HANCOCK.

DEMOCRACY AND DESPOTISM.

BY RABBI ADOLPH MOSES.

OURS is the age of democracy. The American Republic is the typical representative of it, being the greatest and most advanced democracy on earth. The most powerful tendency of the nineteenth century has been and still is to make government in all its parts and social life in all its manifestations as thoroughly democratic as possible. The first impulse toward that irresistible movement was given by the United States, as soon as it sprang into existence, and the successful example offered by the mighty northern republic has, during the last hundred years, been the main force in spreading throughout the civilized world the belief that the rule of democracy or government by the people and for the people was not only possible but most desirable.

During the eighteen centuries which elapsed between the fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of the American commonwealth, the European nations had, as a rule, no faith in the possibility and the beneficial nature of democratic forms of government. The hopeless and disgraceful breakdown of democracy in all the cities of Greece and later on in Rome convinced both the masses and the upper classes that self-government by the people was an impossibility.

It had everywhere led to social and political anarchy. Through anarchy, frightful demoralization, and misery, it invariably passed into a despotism or the irresponsible and absolute rule of one man. Despotism, grievous though it was and destructive of what is best and highest in man, was yet under the given conditions the only means of saving society from being completely wrecked and reverting to a state of things far worse than primitive savagery.

Democracy had in the Grecian cities and in Rome by a slow and

most difficult process supplanted the rule of a powerful aristocracy. For ages the poor and disfranchised masses had, under the leadership of ambitious statesmen, wrestled with the aristocratic, rich, and mighty families for equal civil and political rights and powers. After a long and fierce struggle they succeeded in divesting the aristocracy of all its special privileges and ancient authority and in making the poorest artisan politically the peer of the noblest in the land. Of all the great cities Athens developed the purest and most consistent form of democratic government. For a few years democracy flourished and bore richest fruits in Athens in a way unknown before and after. Under great Pericles it was for a time in an almost ideal state of working order. Every citizen felt himself to be a sovereign among fellow-sovereigns, a law-giver, judge, and ruler. All were united by the common love of the general good.

They were all restrained by respect for the laws which they themselves made, after mature deliberation, in the assembly of all free citizens. Every man considered himself a vital and responsible part of the state. Every citizen willingly subordinated his individual interests to the larger interests of the fatherland.

No man gloried in his riches nor in his strength nor in his wisdom; they only gloried in the greatness, the power and marvelous culture of Athens. All followed of their own free and deliberate choice the lead of Pericles, the greatest and wisest statesman Greece produced, and one of the noblest rulers that ever played an immortal part in the arena of history. In his time the ideal of democracy may be said to have been realized on the narrow stage of the Athenian commonweal, as far as the limitation of ancient social organization would permit. Then could be seen the superiority of a true democracy over all other forms of government. Within the lifetime of one generation the single city of Athens produced by the spontaneous and harmonious coöperation of her citizens works of highest civilization, which stand unsurpassed to this day and some of which have never been reached even by the most advanced modern nations. The Athenian people in the best days of Pericles probably displayed

the qualities of enlightened patriotism, of political insight and popular self-government in a higher degree than any other people before and after.

The masses in Athens and throughout Greece were in the heyday of democracy on a higher level of mental, artistic, and political culture than the average European and American of our time. There was in them a sense of beauty in all its forms, a subtle fancy, an originality of speculation, an energy of political life, and a delight in subordinating the individual of the state, such as the world has never again known. After perhaps a thousand years of slow growth the Greek nation brought forth at last in Athens and other cities the perfect flower of a glorious democracy.

But like the century plant which quickly decays after it has once reached its complete development and unfolded for a brief hour its flowering beauty, the Athenian democracy, the fairest flower of humanity, which had slowly ripened under the most favorable conditions of climate, geographical position, and race, rapidly decayed and withered away in an extremely short space of time. Barely fifty years after Pericles democracy had throughout Greece fallen into a state of pitiable decay. The rare combination of private and public virtues which self-government by the people requires of all the citizens quickly vanished, and in their place appeared those insidious political vices and popular follies which we in America know so well and which, if not resisted and overcome, are sure sooner or later to turn the institutions and forms of democracy into pernicious shams and snares.

The upper classes, being distrusted, thwarted, and outnumbered by the populace, withdrew from the service of the state, and gave their whole time and strength to their own private interests, to the pursuit of wealth, to a life of selfish ease and comfort, to philosophy, science, poetry, and other arts of culture. The poorer classes were full of envy, distrust, and hatred of the rich. They were not satisfied with equality before the law and an equal share of the government. They wished to share with the rich the advantages and pleasures of their wealth.

Wily demagogues, hungry after the emoluments of office and greedy of power, placed themselves at the head of the discontented masses.

They inflamed their passions by promising to bring them redress for all their wrongs and sufferings at the expense of the rich and great. They flattered the common people to the top of their bent, telling them that they alone were the true sovereign people, and that all virtue and wisdom were with the poor. They were experts in the arts and tricks of demagogism which our own low politicians practice with such pernicious success.

They had a hearty handshake for every loafing citizen and a beaming smile for every good-for-nothing idler. They hailed every poor man by his name. By a cheap and showy liberality, for which the state had in the end to pay dearly enough, they paraded as the friends and benefactors of the common man. Through their henchmen and underlings they organized the voting forces of the populace. These ancient demagogues had their political clubs, district organizations, and thieving rings, exactly as we have them in our cities and states. Party names were used by rival demagogues to befog and beguile the ignorant masses, and served only as cloaks for public plunder and unscrupulous ambition.

They, too, had the dangerous catchwords of debtor and creditor class. The former were made to believe that the latter were their natural enemies, who ought to be harassed in all possible ways and prevented by drastic laws from exploiting the poor. The common people were persuaded that their interests were diametrically opposed to those of the wealthier class.

The power of the state in seeming was in the hands of the poor, but in reality in those of a few cunning bosses. It was used for robbing the wealthy by excessive taxation and other contrivances which were wonderfully similar to the socialistic nostrums recommended by our own blatant demagogues.

Again and again the coinage was debased, in order to enable the debtors to pay much less than they had borrowed. More than once a large part of the existing debts were wiped out by a

law passed by the misguided populace. All the burdens were thrown on the better classes, who were virtually treated as public enemies. By this suicidal policy individual energy and enterprise became paralyzed, economic stagnation and mental lethargy more and more took the place of the marvelous activity and the spring and elasticity of mind which had distinguished the Grecian citizens in the best days of democracy. Poverty and the innumerable evils which poverty breeds became ever more general. Despair settled on the once sunny temper of Greece.

In fighting the rich, the poor had cut the very nerves which sustained their vitality. The rich, on the other hand, lost interest in public affairs. They became unpatriotic, selfish, and materialistic. They put forth efforts solely to save themselves from utter personal ruin. They used the power which their wealth still gave them for purely egotistic ends. They came to hate democracy as an unmitigated evil, fatal to all that is good and divine in the social order. The leading thinkers were all arrayed in relentless opposition against government by the people. Their writings not only discredited democracy in their own time, but did much in after ages to prejudice many minds that were familiar with Greek thought against popular government.

The condition of democracy in its decadence was indeed lamentable to a degree. The worst evils which disgrace and debauch democracy in American cities and states were making havoc in the cities of Greece and Rome. The votes of the sovereign citizens were publicly bought and sold. Something like our "Blocks of Five" was perfectly well known, and was carried on in a systematic way and on a grand scale. There were numbers of clubs organized by popular villains which furnished any quantity of votes to the highest bidder. The art of cheating at the polls, of manufacturing a majority for a defeated candidate, is no new invention of the free American citizen, but was developed to classic perfection by the political scoundrels of ancient Greece and Rome. Heelers and cut-throats, and, in Rome, bands of hired gladiators were placed by the lieutenants of the bosses around the polling places, to prevent the opposite party from voting. Occasional murders at the polls to get rid of

an obnoxious opponent ought by no means to be claimed by us a new political method, discovered by the inventive genius of America. Such bloody arguments were frequently resorted to by the henchmen of the ancient politicians. But the whole apparatus, all the din and confusion of those ancient elections, were as much shows and farces as the municipal elections are in most of our cities.

A small knot of men under the command of a ruling boss distributed the offices beforehand and decided, without caring a jot for the wishes of the better classes, who should be elected prætor or consul or judge. The elections were simply a comedy, such as we have to our grief witnessed again and again in our own free country. Every ancient city, before the downfall of democracy, was ruled by a ring, as compact, as corrupt and obedient to the will of one strong man as the Tammany ring under Croker or Tweed, or as Platt's ring and legislature, or any other ring under a local despot in other cities and states.

An Athenian or Roman mob voting on questions of great moment was to the thoughtful observer simply a howling farce. The voting was mere dumb-show and make-believe.

Long before the visible or official downfall of the republic government by the people had completely and disastrously collapsed in Rome, as it had many years before broken down in Greece. Cæsar and Pompey were for some years allied bosses and ruled the city and empire with despotic sway. Cæsar was the boss of the so-called popular party, of the poor, the bankrupt, the landless, and of those guileless enthusiasts who still believed in the reality of democracy. For some time he used Pompey as his care-taker in Rome, while he was conquering Gaul and making a name for himself as a general and statesman. When the time was ripe for final action, he made short work of the incompetent and corrupt aristocracy and their leaders. He also brushed aside the pretenses and shams of popular self-government and was recognized as the sole master of Rome, ruling not as a king, but as a boss in the American sense, governing absolutely in the name and through the constitutional machinery of the dead democracy which still shammed life.

A despotism or boss-ship was the only means left for keeping the state from falling to pieces. For a democracy, however excellent her laws and institutions, cannot live long after the vital spirit of democracy has left the citizens. The same conditions and causes which had ruined popular government in the cities of Greece and landed them at last in despotism were present in Rome on a vast scale, and brought on the same inevitable results—the rule of a despot or boss under the old but hollow forms of democracy. Where the upper classes have become unpatriotic, self-seeking, unmindful of the duties of self-sacrificing leadership, where the masses are moved by blind passions, by Utopian delusions, by envy and distrust of the wealthy, government by the people, by the will of the majority, becomes not only most mischievous but simply impossible.

Where the educated and rich have abdicated their office as guides of the people, and care only for wealth and personal culture, where the poorer classes are no longer animated by sturdy patriotism but by unreasoning prejudices, cunning and selfish men of strong will invariably gather around them venal and unscrupulous followers, organize them by the cohesive power of plunder into a powerful machine, and as bosses or despots seize upon the reins of government without abolishing the cherished forms of democracy.

The upper classes will in the end submit from fear of something far worse, from dread of anarchy and universal ruin. The poorer classes will yield, being misled by party cries, by flatteries, by promises of great benefits to be gained through the people's alleged friends.

Some kind of a resolute governing power there must be in every society. Where the old governing agencies have broken down, a new ruling force will be evolved by a natural process. In a decaying and impotent democracy the despot, as the Greeks called him, the boss, as the American styles him, is developed as the new agent who for good and evil assumes and discharges the functions of real government.

How is it with our America? Is democracy in our land sound to the core? Or does it show those signs of decay which invari-

ably preceded the downfall of popular self-government in the cities of Greece, in Rome, and in the town republics of medieval Italy? The symptoms of the moral, social, and political diseases which put an end to democracy in those ancient and medieval communities are present in abundance and in aggravated forms in our own country, and fill every patriotic heart with grave fears as to the future of government by the people in the United States. The dangers are many and visible to every observant eye. The crying evils of misgovernment are patent to all and deplored by all save the birds of prey that feed on the putridity of the body politic.

It is recognized on all hands that municipal government by universal suffrage has so far proved a complete and disgraceful failure in all but the very smallest towns. No impartial observer can help seeing that our city governments are the plague-spots of American democracy. It is in the large cities that the poison of corruption, or fraudulent elections, of reckless extravagance, of thieving ring rule is distilled. From these diseased local centers the virus has been spreading and vitiating the healthful political activities of the states and of the nation at large. The reasons for this lamentable state of things are not far to seek.

The intelligence, the wealth, and the great industrial establishments of the country are mainly concentrated in the cities, just as was the case in the Old World. Now, the rich and educated, who are the natural leaders of the people, as a rule take no heart-felt interest in the general welfare and no active part in the municipal affairs of their cities. They give their whole time and energy to the pursuit of wealth, to the well-being of their family, to a life of ease and luxury, at best to the arts and pleasures of personal culture. They are wholly absorbed in individual interests, material and spiritual.

Individualism is the strength and glory of American civilization, but it constitutes at the same time its weakness and danger. Individualism originated in America and has from the foundation of the republic to this day been the leading principle of American thought and conduct. It teaches and demands that every man should take care of himself. The state should inter-

fere as little as possible with the affairs of its citizens. Its only office is, to defend the country against foreign invasion. For the discharge of this office alone has the state the right to levy taxes on its citizens. According to the genuine American doctrine of government, the rights, the liberties, the happiness of the individual are the ultimate aims of society.

To the theory and practice of individualism America mainly owes its greatness, its marvelous material development, and much else that is far more precious than material prosperity. It has developed a race of sturdy, self-reliant progressive men. The unheard-of growth of America during the first century of its national existence is due to the untrammeled vigor of individuals carving a way for themselves, making new roads for progress through the wilderness, rising from poverty and obscurity to sit in the high places of the earth. But American individualism has also its great drawbacks. It has in a large measure been the cause of the political degradation into which so many of our cities and states have fallen. The most vigorous characters and intellects, the brain and creative force of the country, the very men whose energy and enterprise have made America what it is, have carried individualism to excess. They are devoting their great powers of mind and will, all their executive ability exclusively to their own private affairs and have no heart and no time for the interests of the community. They are anxious above all things to be allowed to attend to their own business, and not to be disturbed by public demands in their pursuit of wealth and other individual aims. They prefer to be plundered by excessive taxation, to be injured by vicious laws and regulations passed by ignorant or corrupt representatives, than to apply part of their time, intelligence, and influence to the common good, to share in the responsibilities and honors of municipal government, to prevent the administration and law-giving power of their town and state from falling into the hands of irresponsible and corrupt men.

The root of the many evils which fill patriotic hearts with grief and fear is to be sought in the fact that the ablest, the most intelligent and most respectable class of Americans as a rule lack the

spirit of that genuine, steadfast patriotism, which is great even in small things, and manifests itself in devotion to the duties of citizenship, not merely on extraordinary occasions, but in the ordinary course of life. There is doubtlesss an immense force of patriotism latent in the Americans. But it is chiefly patriotism of the heroic kind which is roused into activity only by great emergencies, by appalling dangers internal or external, which threaten the ruin or disruption of the Union. But patriotism of the heroic sort which carries men away on a wave of enthusiasm, and causes them to lay down their lives and their wealth on the altar of the fatherland, really is not the highest kind of patriotism. Nor do we, under our peaceful conditions, stand much in need of it. It is after all easy to die for one's country, paradoxical though it may sound.

The average man of nearly every nation and race will on the field of battle expose himself to mortal danger and, if need be, voluntarily leap into the jaws of death. The savage possesses this virtue in the highest degree. But to live for one's country, to sacrifice time, comfort, and money to the general good, to discharge the duties of good citizenship, not only in seasons of great excitement but day by day, this is the truest and highest form of patriotism, and is the indispensable prerequisite of genuine democracy. Only the freest and wisest nations, only those farthest advanced in the virtues and powers of civilized humanity, do display it. By it alone have the leading nations of Europe, especially the Teutonic peoples, succeeded in establishing municipal self-government on a solid foundation and in carrying it on efficiently and economically. By it alone are they enabled to go on extending the rule of democracy without running the risk of delivering the powers of local government into the hands of low and mercenary politicians.

Unfortunately this kind of practical and ever-vigilant patriotism is not common in America and least of all is it found among the upper classes. To its absence may be traced most of the evils which affect and disgrace American democracy. Some years ago I had occasion to converse with Mr. Brice, the celebrated author of "The American Commonwealth" and for years

an influential member of the English Cabinet. I made bold to ask him in the presence of the foremost men of our city: "Mr. Brice, do you experience any difficulty in England in having good municipal government?" "Not the least," he answered. "With us the best citizens identify themselves actively with the welfare of their community. They watch over its interests with a jealous eye; they take exceeding pride in filling the offices of honor and responsibility in their respective towns. Merchant princes, chiefs of vast industrial establishments, famous statesmen, celebrated authors are often numbered among the aldermen and councilmen of British towns. Men of the very highest standing serve gratuitously on local boards of education and administration.

"In fact, municipal and county government is with us the nursery of statesmanship and patriotism. The case is quite different with you. In America the best and ablest class of citizens have as a rule withdrawn from the business of government and have an almost invincible abhorrence for taking an active part in municipal affairs. No wonder, therefore, that the public service of the cities and of the states, being despised and shunned by the best citizens, has almost everywhere fallen into the hands of professional politicians of questionable character and inferior ability. You cannot expect fine results to come from agencies of low moral and intellectual quality. Local patriotism is the principal moral force which will produce good local government. Where the former is wanting, the most carefully devised city charter will be without avail. Where the popular will is the ultimate seat of authority, public opinion must be shaped by the best moral influence present in the people. It must be robust, ever-watchful, act with promptness and vigor in meting out condign punishment to the men who abuse the public trust for immoral ends."

The great historian thus laid his finger on the open sore of American democracy. The best class of our citizens do not mold public opinion nor do they habitually stand up with manful courage for outraged political morality. They do not boil over with righteous indignation when they see the suffrage debauched

and degraded. They have but a cynical smile and a shrug of the shoulder when municipal elections are turned by the bosses and their henchmen into a farce. They are not incensed and horrified because votes are openly bought and sold. They do not rise to a man to punish judges of elections who with brazen shamelessness nullify the will of the people and in obedience to the command of a boss trample under feet the laws which they have been appointed to enforce.

If the dry-rot of political immorality and indifference is in the best citizens, how can we expect the masses to be animated by lofty patriotism, and to fight for purity, economy, and efficiency in government? The fact is, the poorer classes in the cities are as a rule indifferent to good and honest municipal government. We have universal suffrage without universal taxation. The poorer people in our cities imagine that all the burdens of taxation are exclusively borne by the wealthy. They have come to believe that wastefulness, extravagance, dishonesty, and misgovernment do not touch them and only hurt the rich. They have been left without guidance and instruction by their natural leaders and have been persuaded by selfish demagogues that their interests are opposed to those of the wealthy of the land. The leaven of wild socialistic doctrines has permeated the laboring masses, and caused them to array themselves as a class against the upper classes. The conditions which brought on despotism in the cities of Greece and in Rome are more or less present in our larger towns, and have as a consequence given birth in many places to the rule of an irresponsible boss-ship which is nothing else but despotism with an expressive English name. Corruption, political incompetency, and degradation are most ripe in the cities of America. The representatives whom the cities send to the state legislatures and to Congress are with few exceptions of the poorest intellectual and moral quality. Nearly all of them are bound body and soul to a boss, or are in the pay of a corporation which defrays their electioneering expenses, and sends them to the seat of government to protect its interests. These representatives as a rule misrepresent their constituency. The inhabitants of the city expect no good from their misrepresentatives.

They are ever afraid that their best interests will be betrayed and sold by them. Whenever new laws for the abolition of existing abuses, for better government or a juster system of taxation are wanted, the citizens can rarely count on their own representatives, but rely on the integrity and sense of justice of the rural legislators, who are, at least in the state of Kentucky, usually better men than their colleagues from the cities.

Here we come to a point where the gloom of our situation is lit up by a glimpse of hope and light. Though the conditions of American democracy seem to be very much like those that prevailed in the degraded democracy of antiquity and led on to despotism, still there is present in America an infinity of healthful elements and moral force which were wanting in the cities of Greece and Rome. They give us the assurance that the evils we lament and the dangers we fear are but of temporary nature, that recovery, though slow, is sure to come, that the genius of the American people will work out its salvation despite all difficulties.

History never repeats itself. Though we should learn the best lessons which the past can teach us, we ought also to bear in mind that what has happened once under a combination of circumstances will most likely never happen again, because the conditions surrounding the life of the great modern nations are in most respects different from those of the ancient democracies. The United States is not Athens or Rome. Those were single cities with a comparatively small number of full citizens. Corruption could readily enough permeate a small body politic and destroy its self-government along with its political virtues. Were the American cities independent and isolated commonwealths, they would probably share the fate of Athens and Rome and come to be permanently under the sway of a despot or a boss. But the Union is a nation of seventy million people inhabiting the best part of a continent. More than one half of this people live on farms and in small towns, where the political conditions are more favorable. There government by the people is still fairly successful, honest, and efficient. The moral influence emanating from that sturdy, self-governing portion of the popu-

lation is bound to react favorably on the political morality of the cities. The nation cannot lose faith in democracy so long as such a vast body of citizens continue to give the example of successful popular government. Corruption cannot, moreover, as readily destroy the moral health of seventy million souls as it did that of a hundred or two hundred thousand Greeks or Romans crowded together in one city. While the disease may be virulent in one part, the recuperative moral forces are already rising and bringing about a change for the better in another part of the country. Thus, the city of New York, for so long a time the very hotbed of corruption and paradise of bosses, has within the last few years set the example of a wonderful awakening of the people, and in all seriousness begun the arduous task of abolishing countless inveterate abuses and of delivering the city from the absolutism of boss rule.

Again, in the ancient and medieval fallen democracies, the despot or boss usually killed or banished all protesting and influential patriots. Free speech was forbidden. The possibility of educating the people and inspiring them with enthusiasm to regain its lost sovereign power was forever gone. Once established, boss rule or despotism could nevermore be abolished. Despotism or boss-ship will never dare go to such length in America. Even in the worst days of political degradation in New York, when one man without any official authority was absolute master of the city and state, making and unmaking laws, levying blackmail on corporations and individuals, even then the boss could not silence the voice of a Parkhurst and of men like him. He could not prevent them from exposing the rottenness and vileness of his tyranny and rousing the public conscience to a realizing sense of the people's deep fall and shame. As long as we have freedom of speech and freedom of the press, democracy cannot go under in America and make way to despotism or boss rule. There will always be found in the pulpit, in the press, on the bench, in the counting room, behind the plow, and in the workshop, men in whom there is the spirit of liberty and self-government, the hatred of corruption and lying partisanship.

Such men will ever raise their voice like a trumpet, will tell the American people their sins, awaken the slumbering conscience of the rich and of the poor, confound the cunning of selfish demagogues, and weld together the best elements in the country into a rejuvenating power. America has also this immense advantage over the ancient democracies: It has an independent clergy whose mission it is to teach private and public morality, to criticise fearlessly the conduct of the upper classes and of the masses, to judge all public men, all measures and events, by the standard of the ideal morality of the Scriptures. The churches are held in profound veneration by the people. Their influence for good is immeasurable. Until now they have exercised it mainly on behalf of the private virtues. Dr. Parkhurst has set the pace in the direction of political morality. He has started a movement which will swell into an irresistible tide of moral regeneration. The ancient pagan democracies had no such moral agency in their priesthoods. The American ministers of all denominations consciously imitate the example of the Hebrew prophets, whose successors as monitors and moral guides of the people they knew themselves to be.

The quickening and moralizing influence of the Bible on the conscience of the American people ought also to be taken into account as one of the safeguards of our democracy. The democratic spirit of the Bible, teaching the dignity of all men, brotherhood, equality, liberty, universal justice, made the Puritans and the Puritans created American democracy. The same spirit still continues to fashion the character and determine the conduct of the American people.

The Americans are eager students of the Scriptures. They draw inspiration from the Hebrew democrats, the prophets. Their fiery denunciations against wicked rulers, against the selfishness of the rich, against the heedlessness of the poor, ring daily in the ears of American readers and rouse their conscience. Athens and Rome had no such fountain of life to go to and drink new moral life and vigor. The free press is another inestimable safeguard of our democracy. In conjunction with the pulpit the press discharges the office which was assumed by the Hebrew

prophets. The best papers in the country strive to enlighten and guide the people, to teach social truth and justice, to denounce the wiles of demagogues, to lay bare the villainies of rings and bosses.

Some of the wisest men and sincerest patriots are at the head of great newspapers and periodicals and through them instruct the people in the duties of the hour, warn them of dangers, chide them for their follies, and create sound public opinion on matters of great moment. The ancient republics had no such regenerating moral force behind them as the press. The patriots who freely spoke their mind against the tyrant or the blind passions of the populace were quickly silenced, being driven into exile or put to death.

The ancient democracies fell because the masses of the free citizens came in course of time to live in a state of abject poverty and vicious idleness, while nearly all the accumulated wealth was in the hands of a few hundred aristocratic families. There yawned a chasm which could not be bridged over between the landless, homeless, and breadless majority and the immensely rich minority. There was no middle class between them to bind them together and form transitions from one to the other.

There were no industries in the cities to give to the poor occupation and a common interest with the rich in the same useful pursuit. In this respect America forms a most favorable contrast to them. The number of absolutely poor and hopelessly shiftless and idle is comparatively small in the United States. Even in our large cities they are a powerless minority. The American masses lead as farmers and industrial laborers a life of ease and comfort such as was unknown to antiquity and is not equalled even in the most advanced parts of Europe. Our workmen are, as a rule, intelligent, steady, and open to argument. They have a fair education and are fired with the ambition to rise in life through industry and economy, knowing that the avenue to every kind of greatness is open to the poorest and lowest born, if he but have self-reliance, self-determination, and habits of industry and temperance.

ADOLPH MOSES.

THE COMING STRUGGLE.

BY FRED E. TASKER.

THERE is much talk among us about a "money power." Dives and Golconda have always been the objects of popular animadversion, and perhaps justly so. But now a mammoth plutocracy is alleged to exist. It resides with no single people. Its grasp is on the world. It affects all peoples by impoverishing the many to enrich the few. Our whole nation is vocal concerning it. With us its novelty purveys to its inopportuneness. Sometimes it seems as if all the machinery of denunciation and malediction had been set in motion against this vague, impalpable, newly-developed monster, which, as it is said, has come in the guise of peace, in the atmosphere of freedom, with the outward aspect of righteousness, respectability, and charity, to rule iron-handed and merciless over men as did the absolute monarchs of old.

If the charge is true the denunciation can be none too strong. It is asserted that democratic America now contains an aristocracy of wealth, which is in league with the nabobs of the world, and is oblivious to all patriotic considerations. This anomalous, this altogether unwelcome denomination is anathematized as the parent of all the misery and oppression which vex and afflict the masses of the people. This modern absolutism, more potent than monarchy, more burdensome than the worst forms of military and religious tyranny, wholly unrelenting in the pursuit of its objects, greedy and avaricious to the last degree, is said to own the legislature, to control the executive, to usurp the law-making and law-executing functions, to thwart the popular will by a purchased vote, to subsidize popular leaders with bags of gold, to influence the administration of justice, to hush the critical voice of the press and the platform, and in fact to monopolize unto itself the birthright of a free people. Gold is king, Mam-

mon reigneth, wealth has ascended a throne more powerful than that of the Cæsars or the Plantagenets, while the rights of men are disregarded and the unfortunate people starve in the midst of plenty.

Although the view thus taken by many of this alleged incubus of centralized wealth may be and probably is wofully exaggerated, the language expressive thereof intemperate, and the suggested remedies fantastic and delusive, yet every observant person must concede that the concentration and power of wealth in this country have reached a dangerous limit when only nine per cent of the people own seventy-one per cent of the wealth; that the inequality in its distribution is strikingly unjust when one man has two hundred million dollars, and another, his equal in probity and intelligence, has not one cent; and that we are in the preliminary contests of a great struggle, which is to solve the critical problem of labor and capital.

This problem is undoubtedly the mightiest that civilization has ever encountered. It is impossible to formulate the subject in clean-cut terms, which will convey an adequate notion of its precise quality. What we cannot define, however, with exactitude, we cannot fail to appreciate through the palpable evidences that environ us. We see the millionaire, the multi-millionaire, the prospective billionaire, the huge corporate powers, the trusts and combines of various kinds, the army of tramps and paupers, the vaster army of laborers earning only starvation wages, and between the two extremes, the varying grades of the poor and the rich, all struggling together under the inexorable natural laws of competitive trade, the strong becoming stronger and the weak weaker, while from those who are being worsted in the fight goes out the cry for help, unheeded by the successful ones, who, excepting a charitable and altruistic few, pursue their comfortable lives untroubled by thoughts of the multitude. President Cleveland in his message on labor, April 22, 1886, accurately pointed out the situation when he said: "The present condition of the relations between labor and capital is far from satisfactory. The discontent of the employed is due in a large degree to the grasping and heedless exactions of employers, and

the alleged discrimination in favor of capital as an object of governmental attention. It must also be conceded that the laboring men are not always careful to avoid causeless and unjustifiable disturbance."

The present commercial depression serves no doubt to intensify the problem. As our normal prosperity gradually returns, as the public mind becomes pacified, as the unemployed resume their wonted occupations, superficial observers may say that the danger is passed. But this will not be so. The problem has come to stay until solved. We might as well speak plainly. Let the truth be known. Let the facts appear in the open. Why mislead ourselves? Why not recognize the situation while there is time? Why not submit to the inevitable and prepare a way of escape? Temporarily veil the subject as we may, dismiss it from our thoughts as uninviting and impertinent, hide it behind a tariff bill or a financial measure, shroud it with political phrases and platitudes, yet, ever and anon, some terrible outbreak like the railway riots of 1877, the Homestead troubles, or the Pullman strike, will shatter the thin crust of an apparent prosperity. During the six years from 1881 to 1886 there were 3,902 strikes in the United States, involving 1,323,203 employees. The total loss to all parties concerned with these strikes amounted to $100,000,000. It is now estimated that the loss to those connected with the recent Pullman difficulty will aggregate $75,000,000 or more. Almost every month we are startled with the tale of some new uprising of labor, some formidable clash between employees and employers. Yesterday it was the miners of the South who trampled upon our peace, to-day the New England mill hands are furnishing their quota of dissatisfaction, to-morrow it may be some new railway complication that will make us shudder and turn pale. Miniature civil war prevails from time to time, the troops of the states and of the United States are called into action, sometimes in several states at once, bloody conflicts with strikers, and wordy conflicts between officials, are now so common as to excite only a passing comment. Thus the spirit of unrest is unquenchable. It pervades the land and demands an immediate settlement.

It is not too much to say then that America is face to face with a great struggle. It is the third stirring epoch of our life. A century ago was the genesis of the nation. In that first struggle our forefathers created the first free nation that the world had ever looked upon. As we revert to that time we are ready to invest with almost a saintly dignity every participant in the creative work. A half century later the strength of the nation was tested in the ordeal of civil war. This has been the work of the passing generation. Thereby the principle of the absolute indivisibility of the union of the states was firmly established. Now we have come to the third period.

As the nineteenth century closes around us another supreme test awaits us which will try alike our strength and our faith. This period is to be signalized by the imperial issue of our history, the issue which touches every individual, every home, every heart, which stays or advances civilization, which narrows or liberalizes religion, which governs all the business of life. It is the issue of the proper relation of man to man, the unfolding of the meaning of the brotherhood of man, the recognition as an axiom that life's essence consists not in the acquisition of wealth and power, but in the equalization and amelioration of human condition. When compared with this issue every contention between parties seems dwarfish and minified. Even that octopus issue, the tariff, with its thousand tentacular sub-issues touching and vibrating everywhere, is as harmless for evil as a dove in comparison with this new giant; even that other already awakened and bewildering theme, the adjustment of our national moneys, must yield precedence to the engrossing power of the labor question, which, if allowed to prepare and develop its own answer, unchecked and unswayed by the better impulses of a noble people, may find its prototype only in the dismal and barbaric horrors of the French Revolution.

Of course it is not to be supposed that America is the sole possessor of this pressing question. The whole world is confronted with it. Far-off countries, such as Australia and the Argentine Republic, have, in common with nearer lands, already been shaken by the incipient throes of the new revolution. But

America has the sole ability to solve it. Elsewhere than here questions of economics might be kept down forever. But in a land where the people think for themselves, where public opinion rules, *vox populi vox Dei*, where knowledge is everywhere diffused, where the laborer may be as intelligent as his employer, where every man holds a ballot and has a share in the government, where the public school is the beneficent instrumentality in the intellectual awakening of the children of the poor man as well as of the rich, there all matters involving the interests of the people must be discussed and determined. The United States is the first nation to possess these characteristics. Man's emancipation from the arbitrary dominion of church and state is a new and recent thing. The full and glorious effect of such liberty upon the individual is not yet entirely known. With the multiplied activities for good have also come multiplied activities for evil. Prior to the time of Roger Williams liberty of conscience had found no domain wherein to dwell. Heretofore in other lands, multitudes have been content to delve and starve, to die before the cannon's mouth or at the stake, to live in ignorance and oppression, to forbear any inquiry into the motives of ministers and rulers. This accursed condition of man is now no more, at least in our part of the world. Here all men are privileged to think, and by thinking to realize their condition, reflect upon their necessities, and seek the proper remedy.

How shall we meet the inquiry of the hour? Surely the existing status is not invincible but remediable. The prolonged effort and absolute consecration of the best statesmanship will be needed however. The acutest exponents of public opinion will be laid under a heavier burden than has ever been their lot, to concentrate and perfect the best reasoning of the best minds in electing the wisest course to attain the cherished end. The state must undoubtedly interfere to some extent to prevent the evils growing out of the present system. The doctrine of *laissez faire* is accounted by many as involving the highest type of wisdom, but its best friends constantly advocate measures which violate it. They are utterly unable to mark the line between it and state interference. Paternalism unfortunately seems to be grow-

ing in favor. A modern socialism is finding many adherents. Between the extreme theories is a conservative middle ground. The truest theory lies in a minimum of state interference, but does not reject such interference when plainly necessary. Common sense must act as our safeguard in this as in other matters. In passing laws which regulate competition, and change the relativity of business affairs, we must not forget that the industrial fabric is the growth of ages. The natural laws of trade and commercial intercourse have operated for centuries to evolve the highly specialized business system which now exists throughout the world. A few economic doctors, a score of mushroom reformers, are not in our day going to be wise enough to disrupt the creation of ages, and substitute therefor a novel industrial machine whose every element shall move in harmonious conjunction with every other. Our methods of relief must be corrective, not revolutionary; they must be applied conservatively and without radicalism. As preparatory to other measures we venture to suggest a few reforms, which are indispensable to the success and happiness of a free state like ours, and which, if strongly insisted on, will quickly clear the way for the adoption of such other useful measures as circumstances may require.

I. *Immigration.* This land has always been esteemed the refuge of the world's oppressed and down-trodden multitudes. "Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?" was Jefferson's appeal. Hither from every quarter of the earth have come those seeking freedom and disenthralment from foreign bondage. In 1825 the number of immigrants was only 10,000. In 1881 it was nearly 700,000. The average yearly accession to our population from this source has been 500,000 from 1845 down to the present. With the numerical increase, however, there has been a deterioration in the quality of the immigrants. We have used little discrimination in our hospitality, and admitted practically all who have come, the good and the bad alike. During recent years restrictive measures have been employed to some extent to keep out paupers, criminals, and renegades, but efforts in this direction have accomplished no considerable good. The time has come to emphatically call a halt to this transoceanic

army. This nation, as well as every other, must have regard for its communal purity. It may be benevolent, but it is suicidal to allow this wholesale immigration to continue. It is an appalling evil. The city of Chicago furnishes an example of a city recruited from this foreign mass. In many parts of the country the foreign class, neglecting or refusing to become Americanized, constitutes a serious menace. Why does not some statesman embrace the great opportunity thus offered, grapple with this question, work out the needed reform, and earn the gratitude of his countrymen? Congress dallies with the evil, passes, perhaps, a few "pop-gun" bills providing for consular inspection and the deportation of anarchists, but wholly fails in any radical reformation. Although the wage-fund theory has been exploded, and our leading economists do not now believe that the multiplication of laborers need of necessity reduce wages, yet it is certainly true that the vast number of immigrants, cheap low-grade workers, competing with our American workingmen, has injured the latter beyond computation. A nation's first duty is to its own people. The disregard of this plain and primal rule has given us the anarchist and socialist, it has brought cholera, leprosy, and other hideous diseases to our land, it has entangled us in troublesome disputes with foreign nations, it has given us communities which are as small foreign colonies, with foreign customs, a foreign language, and too often a black criminal record. These noxious things are not indigenous. They are acquired from abroad.

II. *The chicane of politics.* Corruption in politics has long been one of our great national sins. We hate to acknowledge it, we may deny it, but we cannot disprove it. It has furnished the theme for hundreds of writers and speakers. The pamphleteer, the publicist, and the moral reformer, have joined hands to expose and exterminate the evil. But the reform moves slowly. Little seems to be accomplished. It is an undeniable fact that in America, the boodler, the briber, the tax-dodger, the vote-buyer and the vote-seller, the corrupt official, the purchasable legislator, and other nefarious tradesmen of the same stripe, too numerous to mention, hold high carnival. I do not wish to be

construed as intimating that they predominate. They are really but a fraction of the whole, but the evil is none the less serious for this reason. It is a serious wrong against the people that the majority choice for public office should often miscarry, either through the improper use of money, or by partisan skulduggery in the ascertainment of the vote. Here then is a field for active, earnest, and unremitting endeavor. The purification of politics will be brought about sooner or later. The condition of things so vividly portrayed in Mr. W. T. Stead's recent book entitled "If Christ Came to Chicago," although largely explainable as to that city by its immense foreign population, and although by no means typical of the country at large, is yet a striking picture of the effect of that corrupt and debauched political maneuvering which beclouds the fair fame of so many of our municipalities, and colors with a streak of black the administration of public affairs in many sections of the country.

III. *Education.* Ignorance is the mother of poverty, disease, and crime. It is the foe of progress, and the arch enemy of popular liberty. It is the flagitious disciple of the king of error, and it serves its master well. Says George Eliot, "Who hath measured the power of ignorance?" An illiterate man is an anomaly in a free republic, or he should be. Is it not then remarkable that our national government makes not the least provision for the education of the citizens? Strange to say, the Constitution is silent on the subject. It guarantees to every state, to be sure, a republican form of government. It is conceivable that a community might be so degraded by ignorance as to be incapable of self-government. Would the general government then be privileged under the Constitution to educate such a community in order to fulfil the constitutional guarantee? The only school ever founded by the nation is the school of war at West Point. We have vainly struggled since the time of Washington to establish a national university, but have lamentably failed. Nevertheless the government could not live a moment but for the intelligence of its citizens. The public schools of the states are doing a grand work. They are in fact and have ever been the citadel of our liberties. But some states

neglect them. Compulsory education is not everywhere adopted. There is an immense educational work that ought to be done by the federal head. I believe the time has come to recognize this. If there is no constitutional permission, then amend and make one. This topic, which, it would seem, must commend itself to every statesman and patriot, has only succeeded in arousing one prominent defender and advocate in the halls of legislation. Hon. Henry W. Blair, a member of Congress from New Hampshire, and formerly a senator from the same state, devoted many years of his long congressional career to its careful study and its persistent agitation. His "educational bill" was foremost at every session. For various reasons, however, he was unable to secure the enactment of any law. His earnest and constant labors, his comprehensive speeches showing a most penetrating research among all available data on the subject, will live as monuments to his sincerity and integrity of purpose. It is to be hoped that others may be filled with the same zeal, and that finally there may be a fruitful outcome from the labors that may be had in this behalf.

IV. *The Golden Rule.* It is an interesting question how far society can or ought to be operated upon by equalizing agencies. Can all men be brought to substantially the same worldly condition? Is such a result, if attainable, expedient? The plan of nature is to differentiate men, not to similarize them. They are endowed with different capacities, varying intelligences, and unlike powers. They develop and grow in various differing lines. When we set about rendering the same reward for differing degrees of capacity, we forget nature, we confuse genius and mediocrity, we place a premium on incompetency. Yet it cannot be admitted for a moment that nature intended half the race to starve and the other half to luxuriate.

The captain of industry demands a larger share of the product of labor than he is willing to give his employees. He may think them entitled to from one to three dollars a day, perhaps, but he must have fifty dollars himself. Is this difference right and just? The laborers can scarcely obtain food, shelter, and clothing with their scanty revenue, but the capitalist lives in ele-

gance and his every whim is gratified. There ought to be some rational adjustment of the division of labor's product. The toiler ought to have his fair share. It is a supreme outrage upon humanity that one man, or a set of men, simply because they initiate and control an enterprise, simply because they possess capital, should reap the lion's share of the profits at the expense of the manual laborers, without whom their enterprise were nought. Reform here is unusually difficult.

Equality is probably a chimera, which will be sought in vain, but when an employer is so deficient in his sense of justice, and so devoid of ethical feeling as not to justly proportion the wages of his employees to his own profits, so that if he lives well they may live well also, if not as well as he, at least in comfort and plenty, then it certainly seems to a candid mind that the law should in some way take hold of such a man. Society is imperiled by his existence much more than by that of his starving employees. Enormous aggregations of wealth are iniquitous. Trusts and combinations which extinguish competition are an abomination. There is a just limit to be determined upon somewhere, above which neither corporate nor individual possessions should be suffered to mount.

We have thus hastily glanced at immigration, political chicanery, education, and the exercise of the Golden Rule, as four subjects requiring important consideration preparatory to effecting a rational settlement of the rival claims of capital and labor. If these are overlooked or treated lightly any subsequent alleviation of labor conditions will rest on a weak foundation. It is probable that some satisfactory method of compulsory arbitration will be devised. Opinions differ as to the propriety of such means of adjusting quarrels, but legal compulsion in some phase will doubtless have to be invoked in the matter. Perhaps labor may go into politics. This is to be deprecated if we are to have a party known as the "labor party." The ballot may be resorted to with good effect however if classes are not arrayed against each other. A multitude of plans will be proposed, and the highest wisdom will be required to choose.

During "hard times" especially there is much that is irra-

tional in political discussion. When the black cloud of business depression, paralyzed trade, loss of credit, bankruptcy, failure, ruin, and disaster, hovers over the land, when we view the intricacies of the situation confounded with doubt as to the outcome, then the voices of the croaker, the wiseacre, the timorous, and the halting, are heard despairing of the stability and perpetuity of the republic. They say that the country is overpopulated, that the effects of Malthusianism are being felt, that popular government has proved imbecile and we need a stronger, that a revolution or cataclysm is near; in fact, they say everything that folly can suggest, fear inspire, or evil intent devise. To even think such thoughts is unpatriotic and foolish, to utter them is treason against the noblest government on earth. This nation is not an experiment. It is a practical perfected result. It is at the beginning and not at the end of its career. Its settlement has scarcely more than begun.

We might as well understand now as ever that this government is here to remain through long ages. There is no force or power in the wit or mind of man able to compass its downfall. I believe it is written deep in the purposes of the Almighty that the free government of America shall last as long as organized society. I believe it has been given a charter, not for a day, or a generation, or a century, but for all time. Humanity's hope lies in the perpetuity of this people. I am aware that Henry George says, "The experiment of popular government in the United States is clearly a failure," and that also a certain Professor Herron has lately said, "We have failed. We have forsaken our trust. We are a fallen nation." The gift of eternal silence ought to be vouchsafed to lips capable of uttering sentiments like these. They are as fatal as the red torch of anarchy. Who shall pardon them? Whatever problems we may be called to solve, whatever dark days we may have, whatever tribulations, discouragements, and disasters may obstruct our hopeful march, yet we may be assured that "God reigns and the government at Washington still lives."

FRED E. TASKER.

THE LIMITS OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND OF STATE AUTHORITY.

BY J. M'LAIN SMITH.

THE gospel of our political liberty declares, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," etc. To the same effect Herbert Spencer assumes as the fundamental principle of his political philosophy that God desires the happiness of men; and it is thence inferred that he desires their greatest possible liberty.

What God wills, or desires, I do not myself pretend to know, except from what he does, as revealed in nature; and neither liberty nor equality is a prominent feature in natural laws, or nature's ways. But this I *do* know, that if we are not entitled to the *greatest liberty possible*, we are each entitled to an *equal share;* or, if any claim greater rights than the generality, the burden of proof rests on them to show the origin and extent of the claim. In the absence of such proof, or any better proof than the old claim of the divine right of kings, we may well deny it, and assume as an axiom, or fundamental principle, of our political life that the rights of all are equal.

But what does this mean? "The rights of all are equal." It means, for one thing, that, in a social condition, no one may do what *all* cannot do. If the pursuit of my business or pleasure necessarily prevents an equal liberty on the part of others, they, or the state in their behalf, may justly interfere. No one, I think, questions the right of society to regulate or prohibit any occupation or amusement which may be dangerous or annoying to the vicinity. The exclusion of glue factories or powder mills from the limits of a city, or the restriction of shooting galleries, dance houses, or similar amusements to certain quarters, is clearly within the legitimate power of government.

But how about those things which necessarily offend only *sentiment*, moral, esthetic, or other?—or conduct which is injurious primarily only to the person himself? Has society a right to interfere? This approaches the limits of individual liberty, and will generally be considered debatable ground. Let us see if we can get a clearer view, and define these limits more accurately.

And just here it may be proper to say that society, or the state—organized government in any form—has no rights distinct from the rights of its individual members. An act which does not infringe on the rights of some particular person cannot infringe on the rights of society as a whole; conduct which is not injurious to any one in particular cannot injure all together. It may, of course, injure all equally, or a great number; but it is always, and under all conditions, *individual* rights alone which the state is called on to protect. There *are* no others.

The state as an organized power—the guardian of our rights and protector of our liberties—is essential to civilized life. No advanced community could exist at all without a strong arm to hold in subjection the restless, thriftless element which is found in every society, and which seeks to live without work on the industry of others. If organized government were swept away in any such community, it would be restored in twenty-four hours in some form, or the community would relapse into barbarism. It simply could not exist otherwise. But in its coercive, or criminal, jurisdiction the state represents merely the authority which in a state of nature each might justly exercise for himself. If my natural rights are infringed, in the absence of organized authority, I may properly defend them as best I can; and what I may do myself I may do through my agent — the state. But no man, and no number of men, it will be conceded, in a state of nature, can justly deprive another of life, liberty, or property save in self-defense; and they cannot delegate to an agent what they may not do themselves. And this, it seems to me, is the true limit of state authority.

If not, what *is* that limit? If the state's coercive, or restraining, authority is broader than this we may fairly demand

whence it obtains its more extended jurisdiction. I cannot delegate what is not mine; and if the just authority of each, in a state of nature, is limited to the defense of his own rights, clubbing this authority together will not increase its *sphere*, though it may increase ten thousand times its power *within* that sphere. Consent, actual or implied, will not do as the basis of a more extended jurisdiction, because *ex-hypothesi* I do *not* consent; and you cannot justly deprive me of my natural rights without it, if indeed I can myself sign them away. Certainly one generation cannot justly bind its successors in this regard and limit their natural freedom.

If this is true, it follows that the coercive power of the state, its restriction of personal liberty, is limited to the protection of our individual, natural rights; and, to this end, the punishment of *wrong* which is always and of necessity a violation of these rights. Within this sphere its authority is not at all dependent on popular approval; nor is it in the slightest degree increased by it. What, in the absence of authority, I may justly do for myself, the state may justly do for me; and *it needs no other approval.*

In what has been said I have referred exclusively to the coercive or criminal jurisdiction of the state, and I have done so purposely, because its control over property, especially real estate, is far more extensive, and rests I think on a different basis altogether from its control of the persons, or liberties, of its citizens. In the management or control of real property the state is the agent of the true owner, the people. As such agent, or representative, it holds the supreme title, and it may make any regulation as to its use and enjoyment deemed proper, subject only to the rules of common honesty. But with these powers and obligations we are not now concerned. They have no direct bearing on the question before us.

With this limit in view let us return to the question first proposed, and see if a definite, positive answer is possible. Surely, in a state of nature, no one could claim the right to determine for another what he should think, or what he should do, save in so far as his doing infringed the equal right of others to pursue

their own happiness in their own way. My life may be low, degraded, immoral—it may tend in the estimation of intelligent people to sink me beneath the level of a brute; but, unless my acts are so public, my vices so flaunted in the face of the community, that others are of necessity injured—deprived of their just claim to the enjoyment, if desired, of a quiet, peaceful, moral life—I see no ground on which the state can justly interfere.

This of course has nothing to do with the question whether such moral lepers have any claim to participate in public affairs. This claim rests, I think, on a wholly different basis. The right of suffrage, or to any participation in the government, is not a *natural* right at all. It is a *privilege;* and I believe it may be, and should be, extended, or withdrawn, as the interests of the community demand. In other words, my claim to suffrage, or to any participation in public affairs, is based on, and can only in justice arise from, proof, or probability, that these affairs will be the better managed, and the rights of citizens more secure, by reason of my participation. But so long as *my own* rights are protected, and *my own* share of the public burden is just and equal, I can have no reason to complain, nor any ground to *demand* a voice in the management.

If this is a correct view it follows that the state has, and can have, nothing to do with religion or morality, as such. Its sole function, in this regard, is to protect the rights of its citizens. With the moral character of an action it has no concern. If an act of one infringes on the rights of another—curtails his equal liberty—it may justly be prohibited, no matter what its motive or moral character may be. I believe the Salvation Army to be, on the whole, a great and beneficent influence for the rescue of the most helpless and most pitiful class of society, and the motives which animate its leading spirits to be as pure and exalted as any which find lodgment in the human breast. But when its meetings disturb a neighborhood, and prevent the pursuit of legitimate business or pleasure, the police may properly interpose. On the other hand, if my playing ball on Sunday, or fishing, or pursuing my usual avocation, does not prevent its

more rigid observance by those who are so inclined, the state has no just ground to interfere.

I know these laws are commonly defended, so far as any defense is attempted, as so-called *police* regulations, or on the ground that one day of rest in seven is essential to our own well-being. But I believe we all recognize in our own conscience that the defense is a false pretense. No one would think of prohibiting a game of ball on Sunday, or a horse race, or the pursuit of our ordinary avocations, under conditions to disturb no one, if it were not for the moral sentiment which is offended. As a matter of fact seven days' labor in a week, or six days' labor and a game of ball on Sunday, is not half so injurious from a purely physical, or sanitary, standpoint, as the high living, late suppers, or the hundred other pleasant indulgences which no one thinks, in these days, of invoking state authority to regulate. It is the *moral sentiment* of the community, offended in what it thought Sabbath desecration, which gives point and efficacy to the benevolent supervision of our neighbor's habits. Without this offense we should never dream of subjecting such acts to legal restraint.

But the rights of all are equal. Christian sentiments have no greater claim to legal recognition than any others. If you have a right to prohibit what offends your moral sense, or what you deem injurious, I should have an equal right to prohibit what I think wrong, or debasing, or silly—an impossible condition, if it were a desirable one. But it is *not* desirable. If each is restrained only so far as his conduct is directly injurious to others—an infringement on their rights—all will enjoy the utmost liberty possible; and all will be equal. Any other condition must assume, or produce, inequality. If I may determine what is proper for myself, and also what shall be permitted to you, my rights, surely, are greater than yours; and if two may decide for a third there is a similar condition.

Of course in a discussion of this sort our conclusions apply only to those who are recognized by the law as free agents, and competent to manage their own affairs. Children, imbeciles, and lunatics are entitled to equal rights with others; but, on

account of their limited knowledge or perverted views, the law may justly assume that they really choose what is for their own good, and not what their own desires or impulses represent as such. Whether this class should not be largely increased, and the limits of legal disability extended, is perhaps an open question; but it is not pertinent to the present discussion. The question I have sought to answer is the limit of individual liberty, and of state authority, on the part of those who are admitted to full legal responsibility. With reference to these I believe, as I have said, that equality of rights absolutely requires the limitation of state authority to the simple protection of these rights.

But how it shall be done, if the means proposed are honestly desired for this end, is wholly within the discretion of the government. To punish a man for stealing a sheep the same as for killing his wife may be very unwise: but the man who is hung has no ground to complain. In a state of nature, or in the absence of any legal authority, if my rights are invaded, or my liberty threatened, I may justly use in my defense any power I can command. If the trespasser gets hurt, or even killed, he has only himself to blame: and what I may properly do myself the state may justly do for me. But to be *legitimate* the means adopted must be *honestly intended* for the protection of our rights, and for that only. To *intend* something else, with the protection of our rights as a mere pretense, is *despotism*, no matter what the real purpose may be, or how beneficent the result.

And this I think is certain: whatever the future may have in store, all progress *hitherto* has been in this direction. Every advance in civilization has been marked by an increase of personal liberty and a curtailment of state authority, or rather, I should say, by an extension of the *bounds* of personal liberty, and the more effective protection of our rights *within* these bounds. It is true there are many statutes yet remaining, in all our states, in contravention of this principle; but they are mostly relics of a past age, or good-natured concessions to what is thought a laudable, if misguided, sentiment. They hold

their place because generally they are a dead letter; and, while they satisfy the conscience of those who hold the state responsible for the moral conduct of its citizens, they impose little real restraint in the class whose habits they seek to control. But it is doubtful if any law, in this age and country, which seeks to enforce the precepts of morality, as such, or to restrict personal liberty in the observance of Sunday, further than may be necessary to protect personal rights, could secure popular approval in the face of determined opposition. It is far better, however, that they should yield to the growth of enlightened judgment, rather than fall before the onslought of roused and perhaps brutal passion. If the principle here proposed is correct, as the measure of our personal liberty, the repeal is sure to come sooner or later; and it is better it should come from the friends of morality and good government rather than their enemies.

J. McLain Smith.

WHOM SHALL WE ELECT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT?

BY DUANE MOWRY.

A WRITER in THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS for July, 1896, has a timely and suggestive article on "How to Make the Vice Presidency Attractive." He argues, and justly we think, that there is not sufficient power and influence attached to the office to command the highest order of intellect, or statesmen of the first quality. It is also contended that the office may be, as in four instances it has been, important enough to invoke the candidacy of the very strongest and ablest character which a political party can afford. The undoubted fact is, however, that statesmen of strong intellectual parts are unwilling to accept the position of presiding officer of even so great a deliberative body as the American Senate, without having any active participation in its business, for the remote chance of being the first officer in the land.

The history of political parties in this country seems amply to sustain the contention in the foregoing particulars. We have been accustomed to consult availability, solely, in the selection of candidates for the vice-presidency; fitness has been a secondary consideration. While it is true that some great men have been the candidates of their respective parties for vice-president, it is equally true that their selection was dictated by their known availability rather than on account of their qualifications for the discharge of the duties of the office. It is conceded that availability will always cut a large figure in the selection of candidates for the offices of president and of vice-president. But this fact ought not and need not sacrifice fitness for the places. The repeated declination of men prominent and able in their parties to serve as the party candidate for vice-president, yet willing to run for president, makes especially opportune at this time, when a national campaign is upon us,

the question which entitles this article, Whom shall we elect for vice-president?

Enough has already been said to indicate that, in the opinion of the writer, the vice-president should possess all the essential qualifications of the president, and in an equal degree in kind and quality. It is easily apparent, therefore, that the candidates for vice-president should be men well versed in the public affairs of the nation. No one would think for a moment of selecting for a candidate for president a man successful in the commercial world or in a business way, but wholly unknown in matters pertaining to the public welfare. Something more is required and demanded. With equal force and reason the same should be insisted upon in the selection of a candidate for the vice-presidency. How can we hope to secure such men as candidates for vice-president, not occasionally, but uniformly, as in the case of the president?

It seems to me that to enlarge the duties of the vice-president so as to make him not only the presiding officer of the Senate, but a senator-at-large by virtue of his office with the right to vote upon *all* questions, and with the right to debate on the floor of the Senate, will attract such men to be candidates for this office as comport with its dignity, and to secure such men in the discharge of its immediate and prospective duties as the importance of the position imperatively demands. I do not think that a man selected to represent the whole people in so great and honorable a deliberative body will consent to be swayed by any narrow and local feeling or prejudice in casting his voice or his vote upon any public question. I should prefer to trust his judgment and patriotism rather than to limit his right to discuss or to vote to certain questions of a purely national or international character. The time has come when we should trust our public servants to do the right and honorable thing at the proper time. And to surround them with statutory restrictions is to assume that they will be dishonest and unworthy of public confidence. This almost universal spirit of distrust in our public servants is the bane of American politics. It is time that we tried to uproot it.

If the duties of the vice-president are enlarged as herein noted it will keep him in close touch, officially, with all the public affairs of the nation, and will admirably prepare him to assume the duties of a higher position, if a contingency should arise making it necessary. The advantage of having a liberal-minded, broad-gauged man as vice-president will then be strikingly apparent. Let some action be taken which shall recognize the need of having "bigger" men in the vice-presidential office, and let this action consider some such suggestion as is herein indicated, to the end that it may become a part of the fundamental law of the land.

DUANE MOWRY.

CLEAN STREETS AND THEIR BENEFITS.

BY LA SALLE A. MAYNARD.

THERE is hardly any department of municipal administration appealing more strongly to civic pride and to so large a community of interests as that relating to the cleansing of the public walks and thoroughfares. Neither is there any feature of a town which speaks so directly and largely of the capability and efficiency of its government and the thrift and public spirit of its citizens than clean and well-ordered streets. In commending a city or a village as a place of residence hardly anything can be said which impresses a prospective resident more favorably than that it has well-cleaned and kept streets.

For these reasons it is eminently fitting and proper that those individuals and societies which have given so much attention to municipal improvement should make street-cleaning a subject of special consideration. Many of the Municipal Leagues and other civic reform organizations of the country have made improved methods of street-cleaning one of their declared objects and much practical good has already come from their efforts in this line. Particularly has this been the case with the civic reform bodies in Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York. Striking testimony to the high estimation in which this department of city government is now held is found in the fact that the one feature of the new reform administration of New York City which seems to give the most general satisfaction and which is generally pronounced to be an unqualified success is the street-cleaning department under Colonel Waring. The metropolis under Tammany misrule was one of the filthiest cities in the world, but under the systematic and scientific methods pursued by Colonel Waring it has come to be within a little over a year almost a model with respect to clean streets. The many advantages of this change are so great and so obvious to all classes

of people that it is practically certain that even Tammany, should that organization return to power, would not dare to revert to the old order of things. As the phrase goes, clean streets "have come to stay" in New York whatever else may go with a change of political control.

In street-cleaning as in other features of municipal government, American cities have been much behind the leading cities of Europe. Much valuable information bearing on this point is given in Dr. Albert Shaw's recent works on the municipal governments of Europe. A few quotations from his writings relative to this subject are pertinent here. Writing of street-cleaning in Paris, Dr. Shaw says: "The great triumph of the Paris system is its complete and simultaneous collection and removal at an early hour every morning of all detritus and domestic waste throughout the entire metropolis. Between four o'clock and half past six the entire paving of the city, including sidewalks, roadways, gutters, open squares, alleys, and courts, has been swept by machine and by hand, and much of it has been scrubbed and disinfected, while many smooth streets also have been sprinkled with clean sand to prevent the slipping of horses. At half past six the teams begin to remove the heaps of detritus, and also to collect the garbage that has been placed on the sidewalk in special receptacles in front of every house. By half past eight at the very latest the collection and removal is at an end, the empty garbage receptacles have been cleansed and disinfected and have disappeared from the sidewalks, and the main task of the cleansing department has been performed for the day."

As to the methods in the German capital Dr. Shaw says: "Berlin's thoroughfares are scrubbed and swept continually, under a system that is perfectly organized, and that costs less than $500,000 a year. It is a flexible system, providing for the prompt increase of workmen in bad weather, and never helpless in the presence of a sudden snowfall. The central streets of all the leading German cities are thoroughly cleansed once a day, at night or very early in the morning, in addition to which 'flying columns' of street-cleaners are on constant day duty to remove

horse manure and other accumulations. In the residence quarters of many German cities it is still the rule that street-sweeping is an obligation that rests upon the property-owners or occupiers."

Of the conditions in Glasgow, Scotland, Dr. Shaw says: "The streets (181 miles) are swept nightly, most of the work being done by twenty-three horse-machines, which are followed by the department's removal carts. A good feature of this work are the iron boxes or bins, with hinged lids, sunk in the sidewalks next the curbing along the principal streets at intervals of forty yards. Men and boys are kept busy brushing up the day litter and depositing it in the boxes, the contents of which are removed by night with the sweepings."

These extracts give some idea of the results of proper street-cleaning methods in the great cities of Europe. And what is being done there can be done here. It has been demonstrated over and over again by Dr. Shaw and others that the expense of cleaning streets according to thorough and scientific methods is no greater in any case and in some cases it is less than under careless and slipshod methods such as have been followed in most American towns. And as to the beneficent results of cleanliness in public health and comfort and the general well-being of the community they are immeasurable. It is the public testimony of the health authorities of New York City that the clean streets maintained by Colonel Waring in the tenement districts have already had the effect of lowering the death-rate in those districts and it is expressed belief that the rate will go much lower still if the present methods are perpetuated.

LA SALLE A. MAYNARD.

THREE TIMELY TOPICS.

BY L. A. M.

I. THE RECLAMATION OF CRIMINALS.

RECENT facts and figures published in these columns concerning the prevalence of crime in this country, the increase in the number of murders and lynchings, and the apparent laxity of the courts in the treatment of criminal cases, give a special interest to the published announcement that Mr. Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist, proposes to devote a part of his energies in the future to the reclamation of criminals. That there is a vast and fruitful field here for religious and philanthropic effort cannot be denied. The regular jail and prison population of the United States is said to be at least 750,000, and it is estimated that $45,000,000 is expended in this country every year to support criminal courts and penal institutions.

But more important than all else is the fact that so few of those who commit crimes of the more serious grades ever return to the ranks of honest and law-abiding men. Once a criminal, always a criminal, seems to be the rule of the many. The number of habitual criminals, or "rounders," as they are called in the parlance of the courts, is startingly large. It was one of this class who was recently "sent up" from a New York police court for the forty-fifth time, and another who was recently sent from the same city to serve a term in prison for the thirty-seventh time. In fact such cases as these are so frequent in the courts as to suggest the thought that our criminal courts serve no other end than as mills for grinding out the same old miserable grist over and over again to keep the jails and prisons going. Once in the fatal hopper there is no escape from the awful round until a grave in the potter's field closes the scene.

The most serious and perplexing problem before prison reformers is involved in this very matter of the tendency of criminals to fall into a fixed class. The indeterminate sentence and the parole system are two of the most effectual remedies proposed for this evil. The parole system has recently had a good trial in the state of Iowa. Governor Drake of Iowa believes in the reformation of criminals, and is putting his idea into practice as far as the laws of the state will permit. He has not granted an unconditional pardon during his term of office, but he has paroled from prison several convicts who were serving time for their first offense, and whose conduct in prison and prior to the offense gave reason to believe that they could be reformed. In each case the one paroled is told that he must lead a correct life, must abstain from the use of intoxicants, and must not frequent places where liquor is sold. Strict watch is kept on the men released, and any infraction of their parole results in their return to the penitentiary to serve the balance of their sentence. Thus far only one of the paroled men has been reincarcerated.

In Massachusetts and other states, the indeterminate sentence, which permits the prison authorities to use their discretion in granting men their freedom under certain conditions, has met with excellent results. The great advantage of this system is that it permits the exercise of a needful discrimination between perverse and hardened criminals and persons who are striving to live worthily and have brought forth fruits "meet for repentance." Under the fixed or determinate sentence both of these classes must be treated practically alike so far at least as their term of imprisonment is concerned. Neither the interests of justice nor the welfare of society are best served by such a plan. The conditions may be such that in a case where two men are imprisoned for practically the same crime, the welfare of society would justify the keeping of one man in prison for twenty years, while for the same consideration the other might be released in a year.

Another cause for the large number of habitual criminals is the deplorable tendency among well-meaning and Christian

people to shun and ostracise with little or no discrimination all persons who have had the prison taint upon them, no matter how sincerely they may be striving to make amends for the past. Many such are thrown back into criminal pursuits because they have found the way into respectable society and honest employment barred against them. Societies have been organized in several of our cities to furnish or to secure employment for just such cases as these, but the number of these societies is too few and their range of operations too limited to affect the situation very much.

The remedy must come through a radical change in public sentiment with reference to the attitude which society ought to take toward men and women who are honestly striving to atone for a criminal past. Every consideration of public policy, social obligation, and Christian duty demands that such persons shall be given a fair and equal chance to reinstate themselves. No false and vicious sentimentality over notorious criminals in process of trial should be allowed to obscure the fact that when a man has expiated his crime according to the sentence of the court and once more emerges into society he has to establish his claim to the trust and confidence of his fellow-men. Mr. Moody can find no line of his new service more important than an effort to induce Christian people to apply their Christianity in this particular direction. More charity must be displayed, more sympathy, more kindness toward those who are fighting their way back from prison doors to honest lives.

II. A PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY.

No contribution to the discussion of political reform has been made in recent days of more suggestive value than Mr. E. L. Godkin's article on "The Real Problems of Democracy" in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mr. Godkin is the editor of the New York *Evening Post*, a civil service reform leader, and a keen and powerful critic and writer on questions of government generally. He considers that the fatal defeat of all attacks on democracy in recent years is the "defeat of partial comparison,"

and points out that democracy is an experiment in the application of the principle of equality to the management of the common affairs of the community, and that the past offers nothing adequate for comparing therewith the gigantic republics of to-day.

His review of the changes and growth of the democratic idea and its practical workings, which were not foreseen by the fathers, is highly interesting; and he ends by pointing out the danger or error of treating "any democratic failure as permanent or hopeless, or denying to any democratic society the capacity and determination to remedy its own defects in some direction or other by some means or other."

One of the unforeseen and most difficult problems now confronting the people of this country, in Mr. Godkin's opinion, is the management and control of nominating conventions. Here, as every one familiar with our political methods knows, are all the real springs of political power and the source of the larger part of our political woes. Various remedies, such as the Australian ballot system, have been devised to cure the evils of a corrupt suffrage, and other remedies are provided for fraudulent naturalization and abuses of legislative action, but nothing adequate has yet been devised to relieve "primaries, caucuses, and other nominating bodies of the odious and vicious domination of rings and 'bosses.'"

The standing advice to good citizens to do their duty at the primaries is all well enough, but under existing conditions it is of little avail for good citizens to attend such meetings. "Boss" tactics and "boss" methods are supreme in these gatherings and there is no law nor authority adequate to suppress such methods or to protect the "good citizen" in the exercise of his rights. He is bullied, maltreated, scorned, and defrauded, and there is no remedy for him. The result is in many cases that citizens who desire better candidates for office are allowed no voice in the matter while the men "slated" by the rings and factions are rushed through and voters are left to choose between two or three tickets, all about equally bad.

This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why so many cheap

and inferior men are foisted into legislative and executive offices. They are the creatures of caucuses controlled in the interests of selfish and designing men. This explains why some cities and rural communities as well are represented by men who are notoriously out of touch with the moral and intelligent elements in their legislative districts and often so defiant of the sentiments of this class. They realize that their political fate does not rest with the moral and intelligent people even though the latter may actually be in the majority. The heelers, the demagogues, and the bar-room loafers control the primaries and they only need to be specially regarded. It is obvious from considerations like these that the next great political reform to be inaugurated is a reform of our caucus system. Unless this is done other reform movements will certainly fail of their highest success.

III. THE RESORT TO TECHNICALITIES.

COMMENT has been made in these pages upon the many grave abuses arising in the courts, civil and criminal, from the frequent resort to technical points and pleadings to delay the course of justice and some recent cases were given in illustration. It is encouraging to learn that movements are on foot in various parts of the country looking to a remedy for these evils and that the legal fraternity itself is taking an active part in the matter. It appears that the Massachusetts Legislature at its recent session appointed a commission of three to consider the subject of simplifying criminal pleadings, with a view to putting an end to the present frequent scandals by which convicted offenders secure new trials because of some petty error in a purely technical point which does not involve the merits of the case. This commission is to study all of the questions involved, and report to the next legislature a simpler system of criminal pleadings, and to prepare a schedule of forms.

The subject also came up for discussion at the recent annual meeting of the Georgia Bar Association. One of the speakers before the association gave some startling illustrations of the

defeat of justice through a successful resort to technicalities. In one instance a man was charged with embezzling a letter, and his guilt was made clear, but he was discharged because of a technical error in the indictment, the direction of the letter not having been given correctly. In the other a man was charged with stealing a $100 bill from another man's pocket, and his guilt was also made plain, but he was discharged because his lawyer was able, by the aid of a magnifying glass, to show that the date upon the bill was not given correctly in the indictment.

Another legal technicality, operating, as do all such technicalities, in behalf of the accused, has been recognized in an opinion by the Court of Criminal Appeals in Texas. It consists in giving a strictly literal interpretation to the clause in the bill of rights, which provides that the accused "shall be confronted with the witnesses against him." The prosecution in the case at bar had introduced in evidence the written testimony of a witness taken on the examining trial, the reason for this course of procedure being that the witness had died. Because of the evidence taken in this way the decision of the trial court was reversed. A review of court proceedings during the past year throughout the country would doubtless reveal other cases as startling as these.

The fact is that many lawyers apparently rely upon purely technical errors to secure a new trial or a reversal of cases decided against them and for this reason are specially careful to make as many objections and take as many exceptions as possible to the rulings of the court in the original proceedings. Lawyers have, indeed, been known purposely to lure their opponents into bogs of legal technicalities in order that weak cases might be saved on the strength of such devices.

Justice has so often been defeated by legal tricks and subterfuges like these that many people have come to have a well-founded distrust of the procedure of the courts, especially in criminal cases. Nothing can be more fatal to the interests of law and order than such a feeling of distrust among the people and every consideration of the public welfare urges a reform.

L. A. M.

CENTRALIZATION THE CURE FOR POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

BY L. P. GRATACAP.

I.

THE HISTORY OF PARTY.

THE party in modern politics differs from the party of more ancient days by the widest possible contrast of nature and environment. Individual freedom and individual enlightenment, and the universal mixture of social currents through actual intercourse or literary community, have made party lines less like hedges or impassable moats between divided camps. The risks of leaving one party and uniting with another are no longer, in a physical sense, formidable. The contours of party constantly change, expanding and contracting, in part or whole, with the fluctuations of opinion among their members, like the irregularly undulating shapes of clouds, while mobility is still farther imparted by the appeals and logic of candidates or the suave coercion of bribery. Yet people cling to party through a conservative sense of consistency and a combative impulse of supremacy, and party besides is often, or always, an expression of temperament, in which, from purely emotional sympathy, men find themselves at home.

Party has developed in the state as an expression of differences of opinion as to public policies or methods, or as a protest against oppression. Parties assume the former character in free communities or among classes enjoying identical privileges, the latter in states yet suffering from the excesses of some form of personal or unrestricted rule.

Questions of public policy are subjects of opinion among individuals who have equal rights in shaping that policy, but it is questions of injury which arise between more or less absolute

privilege and its victims. Even in the latter case the government must be free in form, before party can practically appear as an influential political sentiment.

In the republics of Greece party was an expression of opinion, in the history of Rome party was generally a revolt on the part of the common people or the middle classes against the infringements and tyranny of a patriciate.

The phases of opinion in Greece varied from year to year, reflecting the diversity of topics which sprang forward to engage public attention in the incessant activity of Grecian life. Before the invasion of Greece by the Persians its innumerable communities, bound by no common tie and influenced by the fluctuating pressure of envy or interest, were politically segregated into alliances that fell apart at the slightest shock, to be rearranged in new groups, like the colored dislocations in a kaleidoscope. The republics were cities, with some adjoining territory, or islands, and the asperity of their mutual jealousies, like that of quarrelsome or suspicious neighbors, abetted their continual contrivances to advance individual ends or circumvent those of others. On this stage party assumed its natural and dramatic character of debate with leaders and followers and the machinery of rings and cliques and bargains. Party became the competition for recognition of different views, whether about domestic affairs, the relations with neighboring cities or republics, the erection of a temple, the candidates for the Olympian games, the election of a ruler, the creation of new departments of government, the improvement of the revenues, or the literary value of an oration.

Athens and Sparta assumed preëminence in the midst of this political archipelago by reason of their greater size, the contrasted temperament of their government and people, and the technical divergence of their habits and laws. Sparta had been cast in an inflexible mold by the genius of Lycurgus. Its conservative bureaucracy frowned upon change or public commotions, and, by a sort of mechanical despotism, trained its citizens into uniformity which reacted upon their own dispositions and made them invulnerable to criticism or fatigue or

pain as well as reticent in speech and selfish in deliberation. Party languished in such a community and as the burden of government did not afflict its citizens the incentives to revolt were removed and the unaccentuated routine of official life was seldom disturbed by popular clamor or public argument.

Athens more distinctively represented the ardor, spontaneity, and generous fertility of the Grecian mind. Its democratic constitution allowed within it full play to the eccentricities of feeling or opinion, and the antagonism of individuals or schools. It stimulated the highest art, fed a rich literature, brought forth demagogues and patriots, and in its streets and assemblies flowed the currents of political dissension and acrimony, and the stronger impulses of national pride.

An aspect of mimicry inevitably covers the phases of Grecian politics. Contrasted with the wide arenas of national emotion which we study to-day, and the complications of diplomacy involving national relations among millions of people, the busy rivalries and precarious alliances of the little Grecian cities, with their disproportionate intensity of feeling and impressive outbursts of oratory, strike the modern eye with a half ludicrous similarity to a stage-play. The momentary appeal for union under the coercion of Xerxes's invasion, the confederation around Athens of the maritime colonies after the repulse of the Persians, the commanding designs of Themistocles for the industrial and political aggrandizement of Athens, the moral exaltation of this city under Pericles, the final explosion of rivalry between Sparta and Athens in the Peloponnesian War, the expedition to Syracuse by the Athenians, the defeat of Argos by the Spartans, and the Macedonian conquest sum up the periods of party growth and activity in whose interesting mutations Themistocles, Aristeides, Pericles, Kimon, Alcibiades, Nykias, Demosthenes, and Phocion as the more illustrious or conspicuous characters move like the stars of a melodrama.

Except at the invasion of Greece by the Persians, and the threatened conquest of its liberties by Philip, Grecian public sentiment was seldom engaged in any exalted issue. The evanescent surfaces of interest, intrigue, and superstition,

enmity or friendship, alone at other times reflected the party sympathies of its citizens. But party, notwithstanding, was an essential feature of Grecian public life, and sprang from its democratic tendencies and the vitality of the Grecian mind. In Persia, Phenicia, Egypt, India, Judæa, the dogmatism and arrogance of hereditary rule paralyzed party except as a court clique represented it, and the mind of the subject people, incapable and unwilling to discuss or promote public measures, lay dormant beneath the incubus of an imperial heirarchy. The earliest example of party as a political factor and approaching the political expression of modern parties is found in Greece.

In Rome party became, on a broad basis, a struggle of one class against another, plebeian against patrician, and is knitted into the history of the nation as an ever influential element, bringing about those changes which marked the increasing introduction of popular control, and eventually precipitated the advent of the empire.

There was gradually separated from the first elements of government in Rome, which involved the idea of the family and the tribe, two orders of society, contrasted by their wealth and social position. The one a class of rank, prestige, and endowment, the patrician, the other a class not technically endued with these marks though its individuals may have acquired opulence and fame, the plebeian. There was, however, in the first a large preponderance of men with influential means, and in the second naturally wealth was exceptional. The conflict between these classes formed the two great parties whose incessant contest, recriminations, and alternate depredations upon each other makes the internal history of Rome a long chronicle of social disorder. This conflict—the result of injury, oppression, and intolerable exactions—was one of much moral significance. The plebeian population felt keenly the injustice of government directed by an interested class, surmounted by a sovereign, pledged to their interests, in whose deliberations, officers, and judgments it had no share, but which menaced it by suspicions and controlled it with severity. At the same time,

there was no indication on its part that it wished to overthrow the state or abridge its functions. It asked for a share in the exercise of the governing powers. As Mommsen points out, "It was the grand distinction of the endeavors after reform and the revolutions in Rome, that there was no attempt to impose limitations on the community as such, or even to deprive it of corresponding organs of expression — that there never was any endeavor to assert the so-called natural rights of the individual in contradistinction to the community—that, on the contrary, the attack was wholly directed against the form in which the community was represented."

The overthrow of the monarchy, the institution of the tribunate, the breaking down of the exclusiveness of patrician caste by the permission of marriage between the two classes, the entrance of the pleb into the Senate, the gradual assumption of religious office, the restriction of domainal rights, the equalization of the orders, were successive phases in the struggle of party. The inveterate tendency to a differentiation of class still continued and the newly constituted bodies of governing burgesses became, though carrying the participation of plebeian elements, essentially patrician in sympathy. The reformed constitution, and the succeeding concessions to popular representation, created a new aristocracy. In this new superior order there was a concentration of wealth. Demagogism and corruption spread rapidly. The intolerable condition of the slaves, the unscrupulous avarice and cruelty of the landlords, landowners, and patricians, and the usual blindness of those who, profiting by this injustice, failed to realize how its excess threatened the permanence of their own privileges, occasioned the reform movement of Tiberius Gracchus, and the nation separated, at least at Rome, into the two parties of reform and monopoly. Between these parties the conflict was waged with the earnestness and intensity which arose, on one side, from a sense of endangered prerogatives and on the other from the intimation of a more bitter servitude.

It is true Tiberius Gracchus made use of a mob, that he appealed to and relied upon a vote of the streets to carry a

measure that was a practical subversion of usage and law, but he represented a powerful sentiment, one which had secured a representation and voice in the Senate itself. His brother Gaius went further, because deeper, and in the two years of his consulate created a body of burgesses, merchants and rich men, who stood between the proletariat and the patricians, were hostile to the latter, and were to be made instrumental in curbing their power, while as an entering wedge of new tendencies and functions they should split asunder the old *régime*. The rage and vengeance of the higher orders succeeded, the Gracchi were destroyed, and the republic became successively the prey of Marius and Sulla, until its confusion and political chaos, in which the seeds of individual arrogance, self-indulgence, and fanaticism bore fruit in accumulated crimes, issued in the establishment of the monarchy, the only possible and the most desirable solution of its difficulties.

The Grecian republics were small and fragile associations compared with the unique consolidation, in mammoth proportions, of the material interests of Rome, and their temperament capricious and elastic compared with that fatalistic, theurgic strength of mind which made Romans invincible in disaster and calm in victory. Party in Roman politics was a long-continued strain in the social fabric, and was an intense effort, obscured oftentimes and often marred, to justify the claims of the poor against the rich, and free the state from the burden of an iniquitous rivalry between the workers and their owners. Party in Rome was a more serious and deeply seated movement than the fleeting quarrels of Grecian republics. It lasted centuries and gathered together, in opposing groups, the elements of wealth and want, the persistency on one side of the invested classes, on the other the insistency of reform. In Greece and Rome demagogism and corruption played their inevitable part. Place and votes were purchased and the passions of the people inflamed or swayed for the ends of personal greed. Party, as a political expression in the state, disappeared when the empire of Alexander absorbed the Grecian principalities and the empire of Cæsar swept away the

perishing outlines of republican Rome. Party, at all times, when actuating profoundly the social units of a nation, must be the index of individual liberty, and seldom perpetuates itself in an atmosphere inclosed within the walls of prerogative or heredity.

Party does not again force its way prominently to the surface of national life until after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, when through the democratization of government the suffrage was more widely distributed and the struggles of opinion vibrated more and more deeply the social frame of states. In England party began to assume a modern aspect long before it generally appeared in modern guise on the Continent. Yet the general extension of the franchise, the introduction into political life of the extreme elements of society with their opposite instincts and hostile experiences, had not even been accomplished by 1832, and, as Justin McCarthy explains, the question whether England was established on a system of popular representation was then barely decided. The Reform Bill abolished fifty-six nomination or rotten boroughs, and took away half the representation from thirty others; it disposed of the seats thus obtained by giving sixty-five additional representatives to the counties, and conferring the right of returning members on Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and some thirty-nine large and prosperous towns which had previously had no representation; while, as Lord John Russell said in his speech when he introduced the bill in March, 1831, a ruined mound sent two representatives to Parliament; three niches in a stone wall sent two representatives to Parliament; a park where no houses were to be seen sent two representatives to Parliament.

After the entrance of a large popular vote in the political arena, when new views as to the relations of government and the governed and enlarged theories of the mutual responsibilities of capital and labor began to appear, and when on a wider field of sympathies leaders and candidates appealed for the votes of their constituencies, then party in England reached to the full circumference of its legitimate activity. And, as it did so, the amelioration of civic conditions advanced. Not indeed

that party and its widest activity are blessings to a community or to a nation. Party brings with it an endless train of commotions, turbulence of feeling, incoherence of thought, the vice of sentiment, and the acrimony of debate. It fills the social atmosphere of a nation with a series of puerile discriminations, and its printing press with abuse. In public life it opens the doors to bribery, to prostitution of honor, to flagrant corruption, and puts upon the misshapen figure of falsehood the habiliaments of statesmanship. On the other hand, it keeps attention awake, and ingenuity fertile, feeds the lowliest minds with questions of interest, and involves every one in relations of mutual respect as suffragists, and at any rate by party, on the principle of democracy now ruling the world, the problem of organized living, on this planet, will be for the present solved.

In England party lines have been drawn persistently between the conservative and progressive tendencies of men, and as long as a number of unreformed abuses existed and interests of class separated the voters, this line has been quite sharply defined. More and more party lost this belligerent aspect and with increasing concessions to natural claims, and a far-reaching application of the best judgment, careful study, and an amiable recognition of human nature and human rights, government in England has become one of the most enlightened features of modern political economy.

In these United States the divergence of views on national questions early gave rise to a party on the one hand anxious to consolidate around the new constitution all the social forces of integration, the centripetal movement in the state toward an enduring, strong, and overshadowing general government, and, on the other hand, promoted the growth of a party which felt itself endowed with pre-revolutionary memories and heritages, and sought in the elevation of the state, its rights, and independent scope of action to build a defense against the encroachments of the federal powers.

The Federalist party and the Republican party were then formed. Alexander Hamilton gave distinction and a creed to the first, Jefferson stimulated and embodied the second. The

series of defeats at the polls which the Federalists suffered, from the election of Jefferson to that of Monroe, proved too much for their tenacity of purpose, and they succumbed to the inevitable, abandoning those extreme views of centralization which had partially clothed them in an alien garb, and partially made them insensible to the fundamental notions of our confederation of states.

But their instincts and their professions and their habit of political thinking could not be extirpated. They represented too radically a natural phase of feeling in a government which enlisted in its formation the theory of state rights and the theory of national unity. They were a normal protest against a recurrence of the state of things which, before the Constitution was adopted, made the states a group of warring, irreconcilable, and jealous factions, and they assumed a normal attitude of deprecation against the toleration of a formal fiction of a central government, powerless to assert its existence or maintain its dignity. But they died. Their death was in the nature of a suspended animation, for they reappeared in the Republican party, as we recognize it to-day, when their views, less narrow and exaggerated, were reproduced, and won, from the sharp experience of the Civil War, a respectable importance. They were, on the whole, unsympathetic with the average democratic sentiment of the people, and they vanished as a party, lost in the widely disseminated influences of republicanism, of mercantile success, and of territorial growth. As Mr. E. M. Shepard says, with emphasis and felicity, in his life of Martin Van Buren: "This was, in our history, the one complete and final defeat of a great national party while in power. The Federalists themselves made it final by their silly and unworthy anger at a political reverse; by their profoundly immoral efforts to thwart the popular will and make Burr president; by their fatal and ingrained disbelief in common men, who, they thought, foolishly and impiously refused to accept wisdom and guidance from the possessors of learning and great estates; and finally by their unpatriotic opposition to Jefferson and Madison in the assertion of American rights, on the seas, during the Napoleonic wars."

The Whig party slowly formed itself from the dissolved sections of the Federalists, and gathered, in the process of accretion, those who felt themselves unsympathetic with the Republicans, now Democrats, those who desired a less aggressive foreign policy and a more restricted franchise, and those actuated by domestic considerations in which social position, the benignity of culture, and a conservative revulsion against the untamed manners of a mob, were felt as vital incentives in political professions. The rising spirit of indignation at the institution of slavery was also diversely spreading, and a party inflamed with a new zeal and hating any attitude of encouragement or toleration toward this system began to solidify in the ranks of both the dominant parties, and slowly appeared in the political arena as a factor of uncompromising traits and an indelible purpose. The abolitionists became more and more a disturbing element, and the idol of the Whigs, Henry Clay, was defeated by their votes. This defeat and the course of events attendant upon a growing agitation for the suppression of slavery rearranged the political units, and the two parties at last confronted each other as the arbiters of our political destinies. And they confront each other to-day on a basis of unrestricted suffrage.

Party is the motive force of republics. The agitation of new popular schemes, the election of representatives and rulers, the adoption or rejection of lines of policy, the gratification of the primary instinct of self-assertion, the accentuation given to fortuitous incidents in the nation's history, and the conflict of strength between partisans make party the essential feature of free governments. Party is involved in the fundamental assumption of such governments inasmuch as it represents the divergent aims and views of men, and no conceivable phase of society can exist in which all men think alike. As Mr. Bryce says: "The spirit and force of party has in America been as essential to the action of the machinery of government as steam is to a locomotive engine; or, to vary the simile, party association and organization are to the organs of government almost what the motor nerves are to the muscles, sinews, and bones of the human body."

But motives less pleasing than rational, historical, or philosophic considerations enter into the primary motions toward party. Party has secondary and more sordid reasons for existence. Party to-day in this republic gives away office, confers power, influence, and controls the avenues to wealth. It subsidizes opinion by mercenary offers, and it is in turn subsidized by those who advance their selfish or peculiar ends through its authority.

It was in 1829 that the "spoils system" was first thoroughly established and poured into our public life the vulgarizing influences of place-hunting and political rewards in money. It deteriorated our public service, flung into the councils of party the distracting and vicious calculations of personal monetary gain, opened wider the gates to the most contaminating operations of bribery, and reduced the purity and vigor of convictions by debasing anticipations of reward. It made tenure unstable, discipline lax, and forced the occupants of public position to become the interested contestants in preserving the life of a party from which they must draw subsistence. It undermined the moral fiber of the nation by its recurrent and shameless exhibition of a war for plunder and it tainted the public aspirations of men for recognition with the expectations of profit.

Mr. Lecky, as an English author and as an unsparing critic of democracies, finds the expression of his own feelings in such words as these, words however which are significant enough, even if they merit a certain contemptuous pity; he says: "This was the beginning of a system which has spread like a leprosy over all political life, and to which there is, I believe, no adequate parallel in history." This language has an unequivocal sound, but it is unjust. It seems likely that the corruption of England herself under the Walpoles was quite as deep. We know, as Macaulay says, "Walpole governed by corruption, because in his time it was impossible to govern otherwise." The corruption in boroughs in England before the Ballot Act was perhaps worse than any similar state of affairs here, a corruption which still existed after the Ballot Act went into effect. The official corruption of Russia has been notorious, and the last

stages of rapacity seemed reached when in France public men lent themselves, for pecuniary considerations, to the exploitation of a scheme of public plunder in the Panama Canal, whereby the unsuspecting orphan and widow were robbed of their support. Corruption here may have temerity, it seldom wears the guise of such contemptible mendacity.

Yet Mr. Lecky's language has quite enough truth in it to affect profoundly Americans anxious to elevate the politics and service of the country. The critical question before this country for the future, the immediate future, is how to drive out as completely as may be all corrupting influences, all occasions for corruption, all possibility of it. It is a question which has a vital reference to our social welfare, our common material interests, and those ideal hopes which embody our patriotism and our pride. For the long acquaintance with corruption has deadened public conscience and rendered callous the sensitive surfaces of private morals. Lecky has again overstated our condition in this respect but his words are suggestive and important. He says: "There is one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion. There is nothing, I think, altogether like this to be found in any other great country. It is something wholly different from the political torpor which is common in half-developed nations and corrupt despotisms, and it is curiously unlike the state of feeling which exists in the French Republic. Flagrant instances of corruption have been disclosed in France since 1870, but French public opinion never fails promptly to resent and to punish them. In America, a notorious profligacy in public life and in the administration of public funds seems to excite little more than a disdainful smile. It is treated as very natural—as the normal result of the existing form of governmont."

This result was indeed thoroughly apparent. It destroyed through sections of the commonwealth a confidence in their

rulers. It was insidiously raising between those who chose the vocation of a public life and those to whose interests that public life should be consecrated the veil of repugnance, of suspicion, of a humorous scorn for the pretentions of the former, as if they masqueraded in the guise of disinterested officials while their real activity was devoted to an industrious search for bribes, "tips," and exchanges. It colored so palpably common thought, and issued so constantly in the language of common discussion, that the fabric of representative government seemed to have undergone an inversion, whereby those who represented, misrepresented, and those who elected defeated their own purposes. It debased the material from which our public servants were chosen, it substituted a keen avidity for beating an opponent for a wise recognition of public responsibility. The earnestness of public life, the seriousness of thought customary in its profession, the severity of study in the preparation of measures disappeared, and the ambition of demagogism, the mercenary motives of the trader, and the irresponsible energy of the criminal, the assassin, the charlatan, and agitator appeared in the place of elevated designs and rigid and scrupulous investigations.

Independence of action and the sympathetic recognition of public needs were imperiled by the vulgarizing power of mere money in political measures and in political contests. Even the faith of party was endangered by the explicit bargains for place between the party leaders of rival parties. The temptation of money lured from their fealty to a professed principle of action the men who formulated and guided that action. Here is seen the growing danger to the permanency of our institutions, to their dignity, their worth, their elementary standards of patriotic devotion and singleness of aim, by the introduction of a barter in votes, for the cupidity of individuals, a process which undermines, disrupts, and shatters the most simple and primary proposition of a government by the people. The double effect produced of discouraging sincere and disinterested service, and of reducing the fidelity to party principles, so that greed or malice in leaders defeated the purposes of party

organization, was fatal to the substantial interests of the country.

Much of this has changed, and the same degradation in political motives does not so extensively prevail. But much remains, and especially in the lower areas of country and municipal government works irreparable mischief. Can this be yet further changed? Can the vice of money interests, the pollution of solely mercenary aims be cured or abated? Can we not practically disprove the bitterness of Burke's assertion that "the system which lays its foundation in rare and heroic virtues will be sure to have its superstructure in the basest profligacy and corruption"? In the increased adoption of *centralization* it can be.

L. P. GRATACAP.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION: A POSSIBLE WORD FOR THE TURK.

BY W. R. CLAXTON.

IT is not assuming very much in morals to suggest that injustice may be done to an unworthy person; it is assuming less to suggest that injustice may be done to a disagreeable person. So much in the abstract. According to the newspaper press of what is known as the Christian world, the Turks in Armenia, with the connivance of the Sublime Porte, have been for a number of weeks engaged in a series of cruelly atrocious acts, at the expense of the Armenians. Again, according to the same authority, the great powers of Europe have more than hinted to the government of Turkey that, unless a stop be put *to* these alleged outrages, they will undertake what they declare to be some highly needed reforms in Turkish administration. In addition, the newspaper press contains from day to day what purports to be interviews with Armenians that have managed to "escape" from the murdering Turks, in their native land.

In view of this unanimity of the newspaper press, both in Europe and America, it can scarcely be doubted that the people of Armenia have been subjected to very harsh treatment by the Turks; nor can it be doubted that a condition of bloody rioting exists in Armenia. In consequence of this unhappy state of affairs, it is assumed that the fault of all this misrule lies at the Sublime Porte, and that the feelings of common humanity demand that some punishment be meted out to the sultan and those under him. It is certainly an unusual spectacle for the whole of Europe and America to agree on any question of politics, and the mere agreement gives some reason for believing that it is founded in justice.

But there are some circumstances connected with the position of Turkey *in* Europe that go far to indicate that animosity

toward her may not be born entirely of a desire to work justice. Ever since Mohammed girt himself with the sword and the Koran, he and his followers have been looked upon with a holy horror by all Christian peoples; and whatever has borne the name of Mohammed has been regarded with loathing by all persons not being of his faith. Especially, since Constantinople came under the flag with the Crescent has there been a continuous desire on the part of the Christian world to regain possession of the city that had once bowed its head to the Cross. No one calling himself a Christian will hesitate to declare that he would rejoice if the unholy rites of Islam could be banished from Europe.

This state of mind must, necessarily, produce a willingness to believe that any wrong-doing attributed to the Turks is founded on fact, and that it demands some punishment, which ultimately shall be the driving of the Turks into Asia. Here is, then, a constantly existing force, waiting to be directed against Turkey on any pretext; and this is an important factor to be considered in such an emergency as the present, if one would be just in forming a conclusion.

Another factor that calls for attention is the desire of Russia, so often manifested in the past, to gain possession of Constantinople. Without these two facts—universal Christian hatred of Mohammedanism, and Russian longing for Constantinople—in mind, it seems impossible to reach a just judgment in the question, presented by the Turkish rule in Armenia.

Armenia is Christian, and, for many centuries, has been governed by Turkey. These two circumstances are sufficient to account for a feeling of intense aversion on the part of the Armenians for the Turks. For, the facts are that both on religious and on political grounds the Turks and the Armenians have nothing in common to bind them together, but everything to keep them asunder. In consequence of this state of affairs, the Turks know that the only way in which they can keep the subject people under their sway is by force. On the other hand, the Armenians know that they have the sympathy, not only of the Christian world, on grounds of sentiment, but that they

have, too, a powerful ally in Russia, on other grounds. To the Turks, therefore, the Armenians must always appear ready to throw off their yoke; and, to the Armenians, the knowledge of probable help, from all Christendom, must be a constant temptation to rise in revolt against their Moslem ruler. With these elements of unrest never absent, it is impossible to believe that any normal rule, such as is known in Europe or America, can exist in Armenia.

While the foregoing reflections afford no justification of cruelty by Turkey, they do, at least, indicate the moral necessity of not *jumping* to the conclusion that, between Turkey and Armenia, all the fault lies inside the Sublime Porte.

W. R. CLAXTON.

FIAT.

BY CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE.

IN these days of political eruptions and disruptions we hear the word "fiat" used very frequently by members of all political parties, no two political parties agreeing on the meaning or effect of governmental edict or decree, in other words "fiat," and hardly any two members of even the same political party are agreed as to the governmental power, or its extent, as expressed by this word. Members of the Republican party use the word to express a state or condition of the mind closely bordering on insanity—that is, the man who believes that fiat has anything to do with giving value to money, either directly or indirectly, is a dreamer, a crank, wild-eyed fiatist, etc. On the other hand, many of our Populist friends entirely overlook the effect of supply and demand and imagine that fiat is the one and only all-powerful thing, that it alone imparts value to money and the substance on which money is stamped, and that nothing else does, etc.

Now, I believe that a misapprehension of terms, and mistaking effects for causes, gives rise to most of the difficulty, and if we can approach this subject without resorting to abuse and ridicule I believe we can ascertain just the extent of what fiat does, and perhaps understand this subject better.

In the first place, we must understand that different things would have value if such a thing as money were unknown; there would be no fixed name for certain degrees of value, of course, but those properties or qualities which make a thing desirable would be there whether named or not. We shall settle upon the definition "purchasing power" for the primary definition of value and keep this in view all the time we discuss "fiat" and other subjects bearing upon the money question.

Webster's definition of fiat is, "Let it be done; a decree; a

command to do something." Now, let us see what is the fiat which government gives to money. First, laws are enacted, administered, and enforced by government. Under governmental laws contracts are entered into, and if not amicably executed by the parties thereto, with governmental aid the injured party is allowed to recover damages. I do not say a contract—an agreement, rather—could not be made by and between persons wholly free from the restraints of government, but such a condition is a hitherto unknown state, and even if there were such condition the contract's execution would depend entirely upon the will of the contracting parties; if one of them wished to rescind the contract the other could not enforce it or recover damages for its breach unless he were the stronger party physically. Imagining such a state of affairs is imagining at a state of anarchy.

Contracts, then, are creatures of law. The contracting parties are not required by law to make contracts—that is entirely voluntary; in fact each must meet the other free from restraints of every kind in order to enter into a valid contract; the minds must agree upon certain things with respect to the thing to be done, or not to be done; there must be an expression of this agreement, either orally or in written language. Of course there is known to members of the legal profession what is called "implied contracts," that is, the parties have either said something or omitted to say something which, in connection with their acts and other surrounding circumstances, will be held as a contract; but ordinarily a contract is an agreement to do or not to do some particular thing. So far all this is done without the intervention of law, and it could be done just as well without laws as with them. But now come to the carrying out of the mutual agreements made between the parties, in other words to the execution of the contract: suppose one of the parties refuses to do or not to do what he has agreed; here governmental law steps in to assist the injured party. Owing to the almost infinite variety of contracts, the remedy varies according to the nature of the contract. It may be decreed that specific performance shall be made, that is, that the delinquent party shall do what

he agreed to do; and this occurs chiefly where there is a contract to sell real estate. But in most other cases there is given the injured party a judgment that he have and recover of the party at fault certain damages, and this judgment is expressed in so many units of money, so many dollars, pounds, francs, or other money, depending upon the country in which judgment is recovered. But this is not all: if it ended here the remedy would be useless; after judgment the creditor, or injured party, can have an execution levied against the property of his debtor, or the party at fault, and, by complying with certain requirements of law, apply this property to the payment of his judgment. All this is "fiat." The law says, "Let it be done."

As we have seen, all these judgments, except for specific performance, are expressed in dollars, pounds, or francs, according to the country wherein they are rendered. Although the judgment-debtor's property may be taken on execution to satisfy this judgment, yet it must be converted into money units before being so applied. And here comes in another "fiat" of government, wherein it is named what shall be taken in payment of debts. This is not inconsistent with or greater than the other fiat. Both are equal and both are necessary.

This "fiat" which says what shall be taken in payment and satisfaction of debts is called the law of legal tender. It applies only to contracts that are made. It cannot apply to matters not already agreed upon. I cannot be compelled to take any certain thing in exchange for what I have to sell. Neither can I compel you to buy any certain thing which I have for sale. And *vice versâ*. But after I have sold to you and you have received my property and it has become your property, if you will not carry out your part of the agreement (contract), I can invoke the aid of law, take your property, convert it into what government fiat says shall pay debts (in other words, sell it for legal tender money), and thus obtain justice. Now, suppose you had this thing declared by government to be a debt-paying thing; that you had property also; that you were willing to deliver to me the debt-paying thing, but I refuse and insist upon taking your property by due proc-

ess of law, converting it into this self-same thing, and applying it to the satisfaction of my debt, would not that be injustice to you? For protection of private property, then, government has decreed that if I offer you, in satisfaction of my debt to you, the self-same thing into which you must ultimately convert my property, taken under due process of law, that you must either take it or keep your hands off my property. That is justice between man and man, between creditor and debtor. This is "legal tender" law. It is "fiat."

Now, let us look for a few minutes at money. What is its only money function? Simply its debt-paying power; nothing more. It is not money because it is valuable. Diamonds are valuable, but they are not money. Cotton is valuable, but it is not money. All cereal products, iron, copper, silver, and gold are valuable, but they are not money. None of these will pay debts against the will of the creditor; they are mere commodities, and as such they may be exchanged for other commodities, both parties to the exchange agreeing upon so much of one for so much of the other. For convenience in arriving at these exchanges some name must be used to express a certain degree of desirability or value; but there is no way of ascertaining just what that degree is; and it may, and does, vary from time to time. For instance, I buy of you one hundred bushels of wheat; there is a definite method of arriving at how much wheat that is, either as to bulk or weight; there is a standard of "measurement" of this quantity; it may mean 215,000 cubic inches of wheat, or 6,000 pounds of the same; I buy by weight to-day 6,000 pounds of wheat for the hundred bushels, and so long as this standard is maintained by the government I can buy or sell a definite quantity of wheat giving that quantity a definite or fixed name. But can we "measure" value in this way? Not at all. One hundred bushels of wheat to-day may be equal in value to the value of two cows; a year from now it may be equal in value to three cows. To-day we may call this value fifty dollars for the wheat and twenty-five dollars each for the two cows. A year from now we may call this value of the wheat ninety dollars and that of the three cows

thirty dollars each. At first thought one would say both the cows and the wheat, in the latter instance, have advanced in value, but it is an advance in name only as regards the cows, and an actual depreciation in purchasing power of thirty-three and one third per cent as compared to the wheat.

Everything purchasable has purchasing power; and the laws of supply and demand regulate this. But nothing save governmental law can give anything debt-paying power. This debt-paying power may be expressed on any tangible substance, and does not depend upon the value (purchasing power) of that substance. The substance upon which this debt-paying power is expressed may be valuable, as is the case with gold and silver money, but it need not necessarily be so. If it be so expressed on valuable substances, then this money will have two powers, debt-paying and purchasing, the first independent of and unaffected by the other, the last slightly dependent of but greatly affected by the first. To illustrate: A debt was incurred when ordinary day labor was worth two dollars a day and wheat a dollar a bushel; it became due when wheat was worth fifty cents a bushel and ordinary day labor a dollar; one hundred dollars paid the debt, but its purchasing power had undergone a great change and was doubled. Not many years ago 258 grains of standard gold, uncoined, would purchase ten bushels of wheat; coined, it would pay a debt of $10. Uncoined in 1896 it will purchase from twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat; coined, it will pay just $10 of debt and no more. During the first mentioned period, 412½ grains of uncoined silver would purchase a bushel of wheat; coined, it would pay a debt of one dollar; to-day the uncoined silver will purchase the bushel of wheat, and if coined it will pay the dollar debt. From this we see that the debt-paying power is wholly independent of purchasing power of the material upon which it is expressed. It is this which makes it possible to cry "fifty-cent dollars." If silver dollars would not pay one hundred cents' worth of debt to-day, they would pass for just the purchasing power of the silver contained in them. In the illustration above given it will be seen that as compared to gold the

purchasing power of silver and of wheat has decreased; as compared to silver, the purchasing power of wheat has remained constant and that of gold has increased; as compared to wheat, the purchasing power of gold has increased and that of silver has remained constant. And a logical conclusion of these comparisons is that gold has increased in purchasing power. This can be shown conclusively by reasonably accurate tables compiled from government statistics, but space will not permit their reproduction here at this time.

I said that debt-paying power is wholly independent of value, or purchasing power, but that purchasing power is not wholly independent of debt-paying power where both are present in the same thing. What I mean by that is this: gold and silver would have value (purchasing power) if not used as money at all. That this purchasing power would be much less than it is at present, I think no reasonable person will deny. Both would have desirable qualities and properties, would be used in the arts, sciences, and mechanical appliances, and would consequently have value. A piece of paper the size and quality Uncle Sam uses in manufacturing his legal tender notes, unstamped by government "fiat," would have but little to excite human desire, in short it would be worthless, valueless, or would have no purchasing power of its own. Stamp it with the legend that it is "a legal tender for all debts, public and private," and you have created a desirable quality in that particular piece of paper, a sort of inchoate value as it were, yet it in nowise affects the purchasing power, or value, if you please, of the material used. And why? Because no matter how great may become the demand for the material, the supply will always be found ample and adequate. The only power given this piece of paper by law is the power to pay debts; incidentally this gives it purchasing power, to the thing itself, but not to the material used, because a thing with this power is always desirable so long as there is such a thing as debt, either public or private. If there were none but debts due the government it would still be valuable so long as these debts *continued to* spring into existence.

On the other hand, let us look at metal money. The material is limited in supply, and this supply is not wholly limited by the efforts made to produce it; its production depends upon luck in a large degree; no one could give you assurance that fifty times the present number of seekers after silver and gold would produce, or place upon the market, fifty times the present production of these metals. Untrammeled by anything except the inexorable laws of supply and demand, deprived of use as a material upon which to stamp government debt-paying "fiat," both these metals would fall in purchasing power to a surprising extent. It is estimated that the present stock of gold alone would supply all needs for the arts and sciences for 150 years to come if production ceased now altogether. Imagine what would be the result or effect upon the purchasing power of wheat if there were 150 years' supply now in sight! But present conditions are these: gold and silver are taken as materials upon which to stamp government's debt-paying fiat. A practically unlimited demand is thus at once created for this material because there is a practically unlimited demand for debt-payers.

As we have seen, the laws of supply and demand govern the purchasing power (or value) of all commodities, and the logical result is, that, with unrestricted facilities for converting these substances into debt-payers, the purchasing power rises, not because there is a small supply or a decrease in the supply, but because there is practically no limit to the new demand thus created. Any restrictions placed upon either of these metals in the matter of converting them into debt-payers will have its influence upon the purchasing power thereof. With no restrictions the purchasing power will rise to an equality with the debt-paying power. In other words 25.8 grains of standard gold is said to be worth one dollar, and no one will sell it for less than that amount, because without restriction it can be converted, or monetized, into a debt-paying thing. But 412½ grains of standard silver is not to-day worth one dollar because it cannot be so monetized into a debt-payer of one hundred cents. What silver dollars we have in existence to-day have a debt-paying power of one hundred cents and a purchasing

power of the material, of amounts varying from time to time from 50 to 53 and 60 cents. Gold coins have a debt-paying power of only one hundred cents on the dollar, and the material has a purchasing power equal thereto, because if for any reason a market could not be found for the uncoined gold it can at any time be speedily converted, or monetized, into legal tender money. Purchasing power cannot fall to an equality with debt-paying power for the simple reason that no one would monetize a thing worth two bushels of wheat in order to pay a debt incurred a short time previous for one bushel of the same product. In other words, no one would take two hundred cents' worth of gold or silver to have it coined into a debt-payer with power to cancel only one hundred cents' worth of debt. Upon this proposition rests what is known as the Gresham Law, that the cheaper money will drive out the dearer money.

Most of our difficulty in understanding this money question arises from confounding debt-paying power with purchasing power. Our Republican friends ask for a money that is "good wherever trade goes," forgetting that our money, as money, goes nowhere but in the United States; that if it is used in foreign exchanges, it is used simply as a valuable commodity; and its value in that foreign country depends largely upon the fact that it can there be recoined and recreated in that country as a debt-payer. We pay our debts to foreign countries, incurred for goods we have bought of those countries, with cotton, wheat, and many other commodities, including gold and silver as commodities—not as money. It is true the gold or silver we send to these foreign countries may have been stamped as a debt-payer here, and so far as we are concerned we have parted with some of our money; but it is also true that if we had not coined it at all, it could have been used in these foreign exchanges just as well; and the fact is that a great part of the gold which goes abroad is gold bars—not money at all and not endowed with the power to pay debts.

Taking into consideration the fact that the seller has the undisputed right to say what he will receive in exchange for his products, and that government has the undisputed right to say

what shall be used as a debt-payer, it is very plain that nothing need be used as such debt-payer except paper. And the very fact that the supply of paper can be made equal to the demand at any time would render the purchasing power of the debt-paying dollars less liable to fluctuation than metal money, because the value of these paper dollars would depend solely upon their desirability as debt-payers, and this would be undisturbed by any commodity value of the material itself upon which they are expressed.

Under a system of purely "fiat" paper money, or under any other for that matter, if the seller desires gold or silver or anything else for his product, he has the right to demand it; and if the buyer will comply with this demand, he can purchase. It seems to me very plain that no person with a commodity to sell, and who has debts to pay (who has not some debts, public or private?) would refuse a full, legal tender note of the government so long as he knew that that debt-payer could be in turn converted into other commodities or used in the cancellation of some debt. Of course, if the seller insisted on having gold or silver or wheat or cotton for his product, that is his business and no government "fiat" can say him nay.

We have seen that unlimited and unrestricted coinage of the metals causes their purchasing power to rise to an equality with the debt-paying power of the coins made therefrom, and we have also seen that no commodity, whose purchasing power is greater than its debt-paying power would be, if coined into money, can be used long as a debt-payer. And it ought not to be hard to convince the most ardent gold standard advocate that the quantitative idea of the value of money is correct; in other words, that the value of each unit depends upon the whole number of units in existence. This is as plain as any other fact depending upon the laws of supply and demand for its explanation. These laws not only control the value of the gold and silver metals, but they also control the value of the units of gold, silver, or paper, after they have been created. We have seen that the legal tender quality of money is a desirable quality, and that this, wholly independent of the purchasing

power of the material used, gives to each unit a purchasing power of value. I think no reasonable person will dispute that with a large amount of indebtedness and a limited number of units of legal tender to cancel it with, the value of each unit will be much greater than with the same amount of indebtedness and double the number of units of legal tender. If this be granted, then we arrive at this conclusion: That so long as our foreign balances are settled with gold and silver, as commodities; that so long as a goodly portion of these commodities function in this country as debt-paying units, by reason of having been coined at our mints; that so long as we insist that our paper currency shall be redeemed with metal money (which places us exactly in the same, or in a worse, position than if we had not issued it at all), just so long will every foreign payment we make, as above set out, seriously affect the value of each remaining money unit left, the degree, of course, depending upon the amount of the foreign payment so made.

While believing that a full, legal tender, debt-paying, but commercially valueless as to substance, money is the only rational, scientific money possible to be made, yet I do not overlook the fact that habit is a great factor in human progress; while it prevents rapid progression it also retains the position gained and prevents retrogression. I do not overlook the fact that certain ideas which have grown up with us from early childhood are not easily eradicated; that every movement toward aiding civilization has had to fight its way through numberless obstacles, until it has eventually forced itself upon an unwilling mankind. Hence, I do not believe that we can at once make any radical changes, or at least sweeping ones. I believe that the first step we should undertake should be to free all our so-called paper money (which being redeemable in some other kind of money is really not money at all) from the incubus of coin redemption. For example, start in to pay all pensions (and not be niggardly about them either), say, with full, legal tender, debt-paying paper money, upon which appears no promise to pay in anything whatsoever, but which bears the cheerful message to all mankind, "Receivable by the United

States government for all dues and demands; a full legal tender for all debts, public and private." I do not believe there is an old soldier in all Christendom who would refuse this money; and I know there is not one of them but would put it into circulation.

Then look to it that all our present unscientific issues of paper money be redeemed as fast as possible and retired. Open our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, at such ratio as may seem best, 16 to 1 or $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. Let this coinage and the issue of full, legal tender paper money go on until our per capita circulation is in the neighborhood of $40 to $50. Abolish the system of farming out to national banks any governmental function. And when the proper per capita circulation has been reached, keep a strict account of all gold and silver coins used as commodities in the settlement of foreign balances and replace every dollar thus destroyed with a full, legal tender paper dollar, thus keeping our circulation from fluctuating enormously as it does at present. I believe when this is done that we are on the fair road to a scientific and just money and national prosperity, and that it will be but the work of a comparatively few years to entirely abolish gold and silver as materials upon which to stamp money and that they can then, and will, take their place among other commodities, untrammeled by anything except the laws of supply and demand; and that our relations with foreign countries will be more amicable and satisfactory than they can ever be under present conditions, where it is a constant scramble of nations to get a meager amount of gold.

CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

FROM THE LITERARY DIGEST.

FOR a number of years a strenuous effort has been made by a number of Protestant bodies to induce the federal government to withdraw its pecuniary support from the mission-schools established among the Indians. The issue comes up directly every year in connection with the Indian Appropriation Bill, and the effort has been to have this bill amended by a proviso prohibiting the use of any part of the money appropriated for the support of sectarian schools. This amendment has always been stubbornly opposed in various quarters and has been the subject of much bitter controversy. The appropriation of public money for sectarian uses is opposed chiefly on the ground that it is contrary to the principles of the federal constitution to recognize any union between the church and the state, and that the practice leads to gross favoritism and many grave abuses. In support of the appropriations it is urged that many of the mission-schools could not exist at all without government support, and that the results have been such as amply to justify a continuance of the old policy. But the feeling against government aid has become so strong that a number of Protestant bodies, including the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, the Congregational, the Unitarian Churches, and the friends and almost all the other denominations in receipt of the appropriations have withdrawn their requests for the annual subsidy. Interest in the question is revived by the recent action of the House of Representatives in adopting an explicit provision that none of the money appropriated for the Indians this year should be used in the support of sectarian schools, but provided for appropriations for the school at Hampton Roads, Va., and for Lincoln Institution, at Philadelphia. The Senate Committee did not amend the House provision as was anticipated, but struck out the appropriations

for the Philadelphia and Hampton Roads sche
amounting to $33,000 and the latter to $20,000. A
trend of religious opinion on this subject may be g
the following extracts from the denominational
Christian Register (Unitarian, Boston) says:

The House of Representatives in the Indian Appropri
omitted all appropriation for denominational schools. T
with the policy of the secretary of the interior, who has
could to push the government school-system. Nearly all t
bodies have relinquished national aid. Some of their
been transferred to the government, and the rest are
voluntary contributions. The Roman Catholic Church i
alone in the receipt of national funds, but the resources of
are so ample that it can undoubtedly sustain its own
desires to do so. At all events, the distribution by the Unit
money which might be used by either Roman Catholics or
for sectarian education is not in harmony with the spirit
stitution.

In an editorial note, *The Watchman* (Baptist, Bo
presses this view:

If the bill passes the Senate, and becomes a law in its pres
it will correct an abuse of long standing. There is a strong
of public opinion in favor of using public money only for pu
We have no doubt the bill would pass the Senate by a
unanimous vote if it could receive its untrammeled expressi
fortunately, the Roman Catholics are interested in defeating
and will leave nothing undone to accomplish their end. J. A.
a Jesuit priest, who was recently made a Monsignor by the p
reward for his zeal and success in securing over three million
from the public treasury in aid of Romanist missions a
Indians, is now working for still higher papal honors by atte
defeat this bill. The Roman Catholics of the United States
receiving from the public treasury over $308,000 for their
schools, and very little is paid to any other church schools
have no valid claim to this money, and should no longer re

VOL. IX NO. 5

A5
v.9

AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS

A JOURNAL OF PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM

25 CENTS MONTHLY

ANDREW J. PALM AND HENRY RANDALL WAITE EDITORS.

ONE YEAR $3.00

NOVEMBER, 1896.

THE CONCERNS OF CIVICS ARE GOOD GOVERNMENT GOOD CITIZENSHIP RIGHT SOCIAL ORDER.

JUST PRINCIPLES, AND RIGHT PRACTICE IN SOCIAL ETHICS, CIVIL POLITY, CIVIL LAW AND ECONOMICS.

POPULAR INTELLIGENCE, VIRTUE, THRIFT.

THE COMMONWEAL OF THE NATION, STATE, COMMUNITY AND FAMILY.

HOW SHALL WE ELECT THE PRESIDENT? . . . . SAMUEL M. DAVIS

AN UNFEIGNED ISSUE . . . . . GEORGE BRYAN

THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORM . . . . . W. H. T. WAKEFIELD

BRIBERY AND THE LAW . . . . . MARGHERITA ARLINA HAMM

THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY . . . . . CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

INFLUENCE OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION . . . . CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

CENTRALIZATION THE CURE FOR POLITICAL CORRUPTION . . . . . L. P. GRATACAP

OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP . . . . . WILMOT H. GOODALE

WOMAN'S PART IN POLITICAL SINS . . . . . FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK:

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS: Notes Concerning Members.

CENTENARY OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL: Observance in Many Cities.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES: Reports from Various Centers; An Honest and Disgusted Legislator; The National Municipal League; Civil Service Reformers; Municipal Ownership.

MISCELLANEOUS: Miss Frances E. Willard; Civil Socialism; Reclamation of Criminals; Joseph Chamberlain on Washington; Economics in Good Government; Women's Clubs; Suffrage Qualifications; Decline of Statesmanship; The Rise and Decline of Strikes; Praise for THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

LIBRARY OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

CIVICS PUBLISHING COMPANY
NEW YORK - 38 PARK ROW

BOSTON PHILADELPHIA CHICAGO ST. LOUIS WASHINGTON NEW ORLEANS

THERE ARE MANY

UNION PACIFIC — THE OVERLAND ROUTE — WORLD'S PICTORIAL LINE

Cool Retreats

ON THE LINE OF

"THE OVERLAND ROUTE"

YOU WILL FIND

FISHING : : : : In Rocky Mountain Streams.

BATHING : : : : In Great Salt Lake.

CURATIVE WATER In Utah and Hailey Hot Springs.

Send for Advertising Matter before you arrange for your Summer Outing.

E. DICKINSON, General Manager,
E. L. LOMAX, Gen'l Pass. and Tkt. Agt.,
OMAHA, NEB.

Tips to Lawyers!

IF

YOU ARE A COMMERCIAL LAWYER AND BELIEVE IN

Advertising

YOU SHOULD SELECT CAREFULLY THE

MEDIUM

The Lawyer and Credit Man

And Financial-Trade-Press Review

PRODUCES *RESULTS*

AND THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

Sample copy sent free if you will mention this magazine.

WINSBOROUGH-IRVINE CO.,
Times Building, NEW YORK.

The Colorado Midland Ry.

Is the only broad gauge line to the

CRIPPLE CREEK DISTRICT.

THROUGH PULLMAN SLEEPERS DAILY FROM DENVER AND COLORADO SPRINGS.

BE SURE YOU STRIKE THE SHORT TRAIL THROUGH THE UTE PASS.

GEO. W. RISTINE, Receiver.
W. F. BAILEY, G. P. A. Denver, Colo.

DENVER & RIO GRANDE R.R. — SCENIC LINE OF THE WORLD

TAKE A TRIP OVER THE : : : :

Denver & Rio Grande

IF YOU WISH TO SEE

The Grandest Scenery in the United States.

The favorite Route of both travelers and tourists.

S. K. HOOPER,
General Passenger Agent,
DENVER, COLO.

Bellis CYCLES

ARE THE

Standard

—IN—

HIGH GRADE CYCLE CONSTRUCTION

SEND FOR CATALOGUE.

BELLIS CYCLE CO.,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Digitized by Google

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

VOL. IX. NOVEMBER, 1896. No. 5.

HOW SHALL WE ELECT THE PRESIDENT?

BY SAMUEL M. DAVIS, ESQ.

AS this nation has again passed through the tribulations of a presidential election, the question is opportune, How shall we elect the president? It is to be regretted that we have entailed upon us the perpetually recurring scenes of angry political controversy and wild public excitement that have marked the close of each presidential term. These menacing evils have become so grave that peaceful citizens are beginning to tremble at the approach of the presidential election and business men hold their breath and curtail their operations as experienced mariners reef sail in anticipation of a coming storm. These results were wholly unlooked for by the authors of the provision that has proved to be so mischievous. On the other hand, the plausibility of the proposition to confide the selection of a chief magistrate to a council composed of "the wisest and best" men of the nation, who should constitute the electoral college, seemed reasonable and evidently captivated the imagination, and in some measure disturbed the judgment of those sages of the Revolution to such a degree that they actually believed they should be able by this expedient to lift this presidential mundane question to a region far remote from the influence of strife and passion.

This view seems to be correct from the fact that the contemporary generations of their countrymen accepted this part of their work at the valuation put upon it by themselves, while

every other provision of the Constitution was the subject of very adverse and even condemnatory criticism and the acceptance of the entire instrument, long doubtful, was finally secured only with great difficulty. This seems to have received some commendation at least from those who noticed it at all. Had there never been any such thing as political parties in this country the practice might have corresponded more nearly with the expectation. There were no parties during Washington's time, and at each election in which he was a candidate every elector gave him his vote. Party nominations were first made in 1800. The electors, however well qualified to weigh and analyze in the candidate the qualities adapted to the state and to act with a judicious combination of all the reasons that were proper to govern their choice, shut their eyes, declined to take the trouble of analysis, and voted for their party nominees. Their successors have continued to do this in every election since. The members of the electoral college are thus reduced to the ridiculous attitude of mere automata. It is therefore evident that an amendment of the Constitution is to be desired in order not only to rid us of certain unquestionable defects in the instrument with reference to the election of the president, but also if possible to avert some of the evils which threaten the life and stability of the republic itself.

The mere abolition of the electoral college would do nothing to avert these grave evils, and even serious dangers, which experience has proved to us are of unavoidable recurrence under our present system in every closely contested presidential election. Among these evils may be enumerated the long-continued agitation and excitement of the public mind continuing for months together, the embarrassing interruption to the regular operations of business, the protracted anxiety on the part of multitudes, who have, or imagine they have, important interests at stake in the contest; the attempts to corrupt or intimidate voters or to exclude them from the polls; the fabrication and circulation of false statements on the eve of election, and the perpetration of frauds upon the ballot-boxes. We may

add to these the disgraceful practice of trading votes, frequent among the low political wire-pullers of our large cities, transactions which are known in the slang of their own vulgar circles as "deals," in which a manager accepts one of the candidates of the opposing party for the sake of an equivalent in votes for another on his own ticket. And finally we may mention the degradation of the political press, which lends itself to the lowest abuse of opposing candidates.

Another very grave evil is connected with these contests, viz., the obstruction that the question of the presidential succession interposes in the way of congressional legislation. On account of this the second Congress in every presidential term is in a great measure paralyzed for usefulness. In the first session of that Congress every measure of great and general interest is thrust aside on the ground that a presidential election is impending, and that any action may prejudice the prospects of the party responsible for it. The second session is equally unproductive for the reason that the presidential election has just taken place and all such questions must be left to the new administration; thus the shadow of the approaching presidential contest benumbs the spirit of both parties alike, and deprives them of the courage of their opinions. Time is not the thing that is wanting, but courage, and it is a very serious fact which our people would do well to ponder, that, owing to the reflex action of our vicious system of presidential elections, the national legislature for two years out of every four is mentally incapacitated for the discharge of its proper functions.

These are great evils, but there are still greater ones when we view the angry disputes that have arisen and are liable to continue to arise over the final count, resulting from a real or asserted falsification of the electoral vote or from conflicting returns and duplicate certificates from the same states. The danger lies in the fact that the disappointed party may appeal to open violence in support of its claims and plunge the nation into civil war. This catastrophe nearly befell us in 1876, when we were saved mainly by the moderation and patriotic feeling

of the Democratic candidates. Providing the electoral system is to be retained in form as provided in the Constitution, legislation is necessary to secure the final settlement of controversy in regard to the result of the election in each state by judicial proceedings within the states themselves, so that the certificates forwarded to Washington shall be conclusive and nothing shall remain for Congress to do but to sum up the returns and announce the names of the successful candidates.

Another evil, though possibly not so regarded by many, is that of the convention system. The operation of the convention system is somewhat as follows: An irresponsible body, not known to the Constitution or the laws, the creature of a usage only, and organized by an action in primary assemblies, of probably not a tenth part of the people, assembles in some great city. Some of the delegates come with positive instructions from the principal cabals which appoint them to secure the nomination of a particular individual, who may or may not be a person of national reputation. There are other delegates not so positively fettered, but they are under the operation of a device called "the unit rule," where the whole vote of the delegation is thrown by a majority of its members — an ingenious plan for suppressing the voices of the minority of the delegates in the final count of the votes in the whole convention. The assembly is usually convened in some very large building which admits of enormous crowds in its galleries, and these crowds, composed of the most heterogeneous material, even partake of some of the characteristics of a mob. It has not seldom happened that wise deliberation and conscientious action have been impossible under such circumstances, and it has sometimes happened that the presiding officer has been unable to distinguish between the decisions of the body itself and the decisions of the surrounding vociferating and excited galleries in the discussions, differences, conferences, bargains, and combinations that take place out of the sittings of conventions. If money is not used and used in large sums to buy votes, these bodies have been belied for many years. The great probability is that for the last twenty years in the

nominating conventions of both of the great political parties, money has been the factor. The staple of the argument that is openly pressed for this or that candidate for the nomination is his ability to carry this or that state, which is supposed likely to be the battle-ground, or one of the battle-grounds, of that election. The "pivotal states," as they are denominated in the political jargon of these occasions, sometimes make the nomination turn upon consideration.

Real qualifications and merit for the office are oftentimes lost sight of and conditions and considerations in the past history of a public man mean much in his favor or against him, providing it is thought that he has the best chance to capture the "soldier" vote, or the "Irish" vote, or the "German" vote, or the "negro" vote, or the liquor interest, or the working-man's interest, throughout a long list of diversified prejudices and passions which are supposed to sway the impulses of the masses of different localities or sections at the times of the quadrennial ballot for the president. Almost nothing is heard of the substantial grounds on which the public character of a statesman ought to be able to challenge public confidence. Very little is heard of the qualities which should fit a man for the office. Nearly the entire force of a great political party is expended in calculating the elements which go to make up what is called the "strength" of the different candidates. It would be quite difficult to give an accurate definition of this strange quality of political strength. It certainly excludes a man's personal qualifications and includes his assumed availability, which is one way of naming some subtle capacity to win more votes in the election than any one else. There is no doubt so long as the convention system of nominating is continued that the quality which is universally understood as "strength" is an element of some importance. It cannot be doubted for a moment but that if one were to follow out the whole process of one of these nominations and the working of the whole machinery and then compare it with the manifest designs and intention of the electoral system, he would be convinced that if the framers of the Constitution could have foreseen the practical

result of their system they never would have established it.

A nominating convention affords a curious study. The first ballot generally reveals the strength of the respective parties for whom the votes are cast. Then follows a certain strange lottery. The calculation and combinations which at one moment have seemed almost certain to bring about a concerted result are overthrown, and the wild waves of feeling and impulse sweep with unexplained force some other person to the front. He may be one whose candidacy has been desired by a part of the public and by a strong body of adherents, so that he in a measure belongs to the category of the men known to the nation. He may be that mysterious personage known as the "dark horse," who leaps into the arena from almost comparative obscurity and suddenly carries off the prize, no man can tell how or why, but in some way or another, after the contending factions have worked out a majority for somebody, a nomination is made. Immediately the mouths of all dissenters are closed by the application of the device which is known as "making the nomination unanimous." This unanimous act of the convention is carried out amid loud shouts, waving of banners, and a tremendous excitement, which to a calm onlooker would indicate that there was on the minds of the participants a universal conviction that something of great importance to the public welfare had occurred. Everybody knows that this is a fiction. In plain language it is a lie. It is a formality meaning nothing.

The qualities which should secure the nomination of a candidate are overlooked. Eminent talent, distinguished public service, high character, and statesmanlike ability, characteristics which would seem to be certain elements of calculation, are the least potent of all the factors which bring about the result; and so diverse and contradictory are the factors which really produce the result that their calculation is impossible. The only tangible factor in the problem is money or its equivalent in the shape of promises of future preferment. But in some way or other these diverse and warring interests are harmonized and the nomination is made, and at once through-

out the entire land the adherents of the party are under the necessity of declaring that white is black and black white, or if they do not so declare it, it is inexpedient to speak of the difference. The public press, which had previously urged with all the ability it could command the political and moral expediency of choosing some eminent statesman to the presidency, suddenly finds itself a partisan advocate of a very inferior sort of candidate. The principles which a little while before were thought to be of the highest political virtue are speedily put out of sight, and the members of that particular party become boisterous in their advocacy of what they strongly disavowed and openly disapproved a few weeks since. A few who are not so strongly partisan as to surrender their principles nor bear them in silence are stigmatized as "bolters" or "mugwumps."

We have departed so far from the spirit and principle of the Constitution that the statement that the Constitution does not contemplate or intend that the president shall be conclusively designated by a popular vote may cause some surprise. However, there is no proposition concerning the Constitution that can be more beyond dispute than this. In the transactions which attended its formation and afterward its adoption we can trace the effort to frame a statement by which the president could be appointed without being absolutely elected by the votes of the people. Many projects were brought forward in the federal convention, all of them of different character, but all designed as substitutes for a direct ballot by the people. After the most laborious and careful consideration, the plan was adopted for electors to be appointed by the different states according to the ratio of their representation in Congress. These officials were interposed between the popular vote and the actual choice, with the intent that they should make the choice upon high public motives without positive instruction, pledge, or obligation, binding them to vote for a specified person. The intention was to secure a body of electors whose calm and sound judgment might safely be relied upon to prevent the executive office from falling into the hands of men of great personal popular-

ity, or influence, or distinction, unaccompanied by high qualifications for its duties. It was not intended to exclude the sense of the people from the consideration of the electors, but it was certainly intended that the electors should exercise a real and positive choice; that they should weigh the sense of the people, but not be controlled by it if the sound judgment of the public welfare required them to disregard it. They were to be the agents and representatives of the people in choosing the president, but they were not to be their agents for the inevitable selection of a particular individual. No other function in the government was assigned to them.

This institution, so wisely and carefully planned, has lost its purpose. The electors exercise no choice, no judgment, and no volition. They come into official existence pledged to vote for a particular candidate. They are assumed to be dishonorable men and treacherous to their party if they do not obey its mandates. In many instances they are selected to stand as candidates for an electoral college pledged absolutely long prior to the election to vote for the candidate for the party to which they belong. The requirements with reference to the electors are different in different states; in some they are appointed by the majority of the voters; in some the plurality only determines for whom they are to vote, while a majority of votes may have perhaps been cast against him. Such has been the results of the system with reference to the electoral college.

On the other hand, it has fared no better with the people. The candidate for whom the electors are chosen and required to vote is not only designated before they have assembled, but he is designated by a body that is unknown to the law, that derives its existence and authority from those who choose to get together and institute it, and who are in fact a numerical minority of the political party in whose name they claim to act. But in addition to the total want of all proper authority and notwithstanding the fact that the primary assemblies which appoint delegates to the nominating convention notoriously embrace but a small part of the voters of a party, yet the power of these conventions is immense. Few men who feel party obligations are

inclined to break away from their dictation, and thus the people have not only accepted the control of the convention over the electors, but they have lost all proper freedom of choice in casting their own ballots. It is supposed that we have popular elections. It is certainly not a popular election, if by that term it is meant that the members, or the majority of them, express their votes. There is no opportunity for such expression. They are debarred from all proper freedom of choice. The people do not choose the president; they simply decide which of the two "candidates" shall be president. That is all.

The question very naturally arises, Can anything be done to put an end to this state of things? Few reflecting men will deny that something ought to be done if it is possible. If it is possible to get rid of the pernicious operation of the political maxim that "to the victor belongs the spoils," and if it is possible to conform the functions of parties to the promotion of differing views on questions of public policy, we shall have begun a work that may abrogate one of the principal motives that actuate a considerable class of our politicians who busy themselves in organizing and conducting the nominating conventions. It is unnecessary to urge the potency of this motive. As long as it is left in operation, so long will the successful candidate for the presidency be obliged to yield to the demands that are made upon him when he has or has not entered into previous stipulations to reward his supporters. If there ever was such a degree of political utility in the spoil system as to make it a plausible necessity for making it a principle of party action, it has come to be such an abuse that the true end and aim of parties is swamped by a deluge of corruption. In a government like this the only and sole legitimate office of a party is to formulate and carry out public policies, and among nearly all the countless public positions which the vast patronage of the federal government embraces, there are but a very few which it is in any sense necessary to fill with adherents of the party which the president represents. It is along this line that reform must take place if civil service is to have a perfect work in truth and in fact. Many governments have found by experience that the advantage

of retaining civil officers in the public service as long as they well and faithfully perform their duties, far outweighs any advantage that can be derived from an unnecessary change at every change of the executive administration. Rotation in office is in a practical sense of no value except as a means of reward to partisan service and continuing the domination and mastery of a party.

The existing mode of nominating and electing the president has a tendency to divide American statesmanship into two classes of men of very unequal numbers. The high-toned men who will not stoop to the acts and use the appliances to perfect the nomination are the exception. They generally hold as strongly to the tenets of their party as the men who belong in the other category. Their political principles are deep convictions. They doubtless have ambition, but with this class of men ambition is restrained by a certain self-respect which forbids solicitation or management in their own interest. They doubtless have friends and adherents who will gladly do the political work required to effect for them a party nomination, and do it with pure motives. These men do not allow themselves to be drawn into schemes such as are necessary to bring it about, nor are their followers likely to be willing to embark very far in such scheming. It therefore comes to pass that this class of our public men who have achieved high reputation in the arena of national affairs, and who are the best and truest representatives of the American people, as well as of the parties with which they act, are the least possessed of the peculiar recommendation called "political strength," and as a consequence are least likely to find favor with the nominating conventions of their party. It is, however, among these very men that the presidential electors ought to select a chief magistrate for the nation.

The emancipation of a country from the evils of the spoil system may accomplish something toward the breaking up of the convention system of making nominations, but it is not enough. It needs to be supplemented by an emancipation of the people and of the presidential electors from the bondage which confines the choice of a president to designated candidates.

One of the purposes of this article is to call attention to the "Nicholas Plan" for electing a president. This plan was proposed by the late Judge S. S. Nicholas, formerly judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky. The late George William Curtis in commenting upon this plan says:

It is an ingenious but simple plan in which lot or chance plays a chief part, but in such a way as to stimulate the selection of the best men without intrigue. . . . It is the suggestion of careful students of our political system who wish to provide against evils which experience has revealed. It springs from the conviction that some defense must be devised against the mastery of the party spirit, some plan which will certainly remove the president from the grasp of merely ambitious and corrupt designs. It assumes that the selection of the *legislature*, which determines the national policy and controls the purse and the sword to maintain it, is the true arena for party difference and that the *executive* shall be, as far as practicable, non-partisan.

The main idea upon which this arrangement is based is to have it so arranged that by no possibility the presidential chair can ever become the subject of a general national party contest; that it cannot be certainly attained by any amount of individual or party effort; and that ambition may exhaust all its energies, corruption expend all its stores, without a certainty of success.

In brief the plan is this: An electoral college is to be chosen by the states, every state sending at least one elector and also one additional elector for each million of its population over the first. The president and vice-president are to be chosen from the members of this college and for that purpose all the electors are arranged alphabetically into six classes and the classes numbered from one to six, by lot. The first class then selects, by vote, one of the electors from the second class; the second class in turn selects one from the third, and so on with the succeeding classes, the sixth class choosing from the first. Thus there are six chosen electors selected from the whole college. *Out of these six two are now drawn* BY LOT. The whole college then chooses by vote one of these two to be president and the other to be vice-president. This plan interposes chance between desire for the office and selection to it, and thus destroys all certainty of successful intrigue and in a great measure reduces corrupt effort to attain it. Under this plan each state will elect from its own citizens at least one elector, and if the state is a populous one it

will elect more. Pennsylvania with over six millions of people would have seven electors. Rhode Island with less than a million would have one. From all the states with our present population there would be about eighty electors. These eighty electors would actually meet together in Washington, unlike those under our present system, and select a president and vice-president from among their own number. They would be alphabetically arranged into six classes of as nearly equal numbers as possible, the surplus numbers being distributed among the classes by lot. The electors being thus classed, the classes, to prevent combination among them, are numbered from one to six, by lot. Class one then selects by vote one member from class two; class two then selects from class three, class three from class four, class four from class five, class five from class six, and class six selects from class one. Thus there are six electors chosen by vote from the eight chosen by vote from the whole college. Out of these six electors so chosen by this process from the whole college two are drawn by lot. It is to be remarked that this is the most marked peculiarity of the plan. The whole college then elects one of them to be president.

Under this plan let us consider how an aspirant for the presidency would be chosen. In the first place we must remember that there will be no national party convention to nominate him. There would be no object for which it would meet. The president under this system is to be chosen from the electors, not simply by them. The electors are chosen in and by their own states. Therefore it would be absurd and useless for a national convention to meet and nominate an elector from Massachusetts or Mississippi. Hence there would be no longer such an institution. That would be a very acceptable improvement upon our present plan. Under this plan we note, therefore:

First. There will be no national party convention to nominate the president. The late Republican National Convention at St. Louis was fairly representative of its class and fortunately it selected a good man, but it must be assumed that it was a mob. The late Democratic Convention at Chicago it must be assumed by men of all parties was much more of a mob. The

destinies of the country were in anything but safe hands while they waited its action. It is unnecessary to characterize the National Populist Convention recently assembled at St. Louis. Its platform as well as the principles which actuated some of its leaders are sufficiently condemnatory of the final results reached, yet nothing is more certain under our present law than that under our present system no president will ever be selected except by some such body as these. It is useless to talk of the choice of the people. This is not contemplated by the Constitution. The people have little to do with it. The politicians agree to press the claims of certain men and then to nominate one or the other of them. The people are then expected to say, amen.

It is extremely improbable that many men would ever be elected under the proposed amendment who would not be acceptable to the majority of the people. He would not have the active and hostile opposition of a disappointed party to harass his administration. It is a misnomer when we talk of support given to a president. We actually mean a party chief, not a president. Under the "Nicholas Plan" there would be no such thing as support to a party chief, for under it there is no such autocrat.

Second. There would be no national commotion caused by the election of electors. Nothing could prevent the continued existence of national parties. The object of this amendment is not to do away with them, and it would not do so. Its only effect would be to end the contests of these parties for the presidency. The general excitement and corruption of a national presidential election would be averted. A distinguished writer has well said concerning presidential elections:

> The contest for the presidency has done more to lower the standard of public morals than all other causes combined. I say nothing now of the drunkenness, gambling, and idleness they produce. They have not only ruined many of us as men; they have ruined all of us as citizens. The American voter not only shamelessly avows the selling of his vote. Men well received in society not only shamelessly avow the buying of votes, but men the very first among us in intelligence, property, and character, openly engage in this bribery—men, too, who

are no seekers of office, want no office, are almost opposed to office, and who are thus stimulated to defiling the institutions of their country by no other motive than that of party spirit.

Third. Under this scheme no president would have a party following of more than a small minority of the whole people. This is one of the strongest arguments in favor of the plan. His close personal following would not include more possibly than the people of his own state. However great may be the necessity to reduce the party of a candidate for the presidency, there is a far greater necessity for reducing the party of a president. This is the larger factor in the solution of the problem. It is not so much the exciting party contest but the insidious results of it afterward that have done the most injury. Every president since 1800 has been a political debtor to his supporters. At the present time these number about 100,000 importunate and hungry creditors who have given him an advancement and he is expected to pay for it. It is not only desirable, but it is a necessity that this condition of affairs should be changed. The proposed plan effects that change. No president is elected under it as a party leader, therefore he will not have to pay party followers. He will not be compelled to turn every man out of office simply because they voted for another candidate. The office-holder will not feel his term must expire with that of the president who appointed him. Civil service reform would thus be accomplished at once and without a struggle. The chances for irregularity or fraud in the proceedings of the electoral college are very small. Combinations would be very difficult to secure. The uncertainty of election would have the effect of excluding the power of money in the hands of calculating politicians. The electoral college would certainly be a most respectable body as compared with any that we now have.

Fifth. The Supreme Court would have the power to execute as well as the authority to issue its decrees concerning the correction of any irregularity of any proceedings in the college. By this means every safeguard that is essential or necessary could be secured for the fullest and completest working out of a

scheme which in itself will doubtless be of the greatest good. The plan possibly is not perfect. Few plans of human devising are without fault or flaw. But this plan is suggested and urged as one that ought to commend itself to all high-minded and patriotic citizens of the nation as a means of redeeming our national politics from the low plane to which they have fallen. If this plan was thoroughly understood, the controlling and best class of our people have sense enough and virtue enough and are fair enough to adopt it. Some types of American voters may be stamped as blind fools and arrant knaves, but the average American citizen who really controls the policy of the country is neither a knave nor a fool. He is always willing to do what can be fairly asked of him in the interests of our great national common weal. He has never failed to do it, and it is to him this appeal is made.

SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

AN UNFEIGNED ISSUE.

BY GEORGE BRYAN.

"But I prithee, sweet wag, shall there be gallows left standing in England when thou art king?"

—*Henry IV., Part I., Act 1, Scene 2.*

FOUR decisions by courts of last resort have been made during the first half of the year 1896 which are full of significance to several classes of our citizens. First, to the student who has for years past sat quietly in his study and asked himself whether, as far as the trusts and corporations of the country are concerned, there is any such thing as a law hostile to their interests. Second, to the merchant or manufacturer who has attempted to exercise what he considered at the time a natural right—that of engaging in a certain line of business — but who has suddenly discovered that he was mistaken and that the right was merely an acquired one, dependent entirely upon the consent of a common carrier and a favorable freight-rate. Third, to those who, possessing a tenacity of purpose which must have resulted in certain victory against any other than overwhelming odds, have been resisting the establishment in this country of the assumption that one man or set of men or one combination of men or corporations, has the right to control absolutely the production, manufacture, or sale of an article of commerce.

In the last place, but perhaps most directly, these decisions are of vast importance to the people at large whose material interests must of necessity be affected by them; and it is the purpose of the writer to give in popular language a synopsis of the judicial utterances referred to and a few general deductions therefrom.

The "Act to Regulate Commerce," otherwise known as the Interstate Commerce Act, was approved February 4, 1887. It

was given a most hearty welcome by many classes of our citizens who believed that their troubles with the railroads were at an end and that all that was necessary was to bring themselves within the scope of its provisions. Merchants who had for years groaned under the inequalities of an arbitrary freight tariff read with delight the general provisions of the second, third, and fourth sections, making discriminations of any kind unlawful, and the sixth section providing for the publication of the tariff rates. Millers and manufacturers whose eyes had grown weary with watching the passing cars laden with the products of a competitor hundreds of miles further distant from the common market than they, but with the same or a lower rate of freight to that market, felt when they read the Long and Short Haul clause that substantial relief was at hand. And farmers and the general producers, who had not confined themselves to groans and glances, but with characteristic vigor had gone to their congressman breathing out the threat most awful to the politician—that of political slaughter in the event of non-compliance with their demands—these, too, were soothed by the contemplation of the ample powers conferred upon the commission and of the condign punishment to be visited upon refractory corporations and their officers.

The commission was duly organized and commenced its labors with the same commendable energy and the same desire to enforce the provisions of the act in spirit and in letter which it has ever since displayed. In its first report (1888, page 42) it says: "The commission has not seen occasion for recommending any very considerable changes in the act under which its work is performed. It has seemed to its members that the law for the regulation of interstate commerce *should be permitted to have a growth* and that it would most surely as well as most safely attain a high degree of efficiency and usefulness in that way." And it asked only (*a*) for amendments to the law which would "indicate in plain terms whether the express business and certain other transportation should be governed by its provisions"; and (*b*) "for authority and means to bring about

something like uniformity in the method of publishing rates."

But before another year had passed the clouds had commenced to gather. The railroad companies were resisting the enforcement of the act as directly injurious to their interests without benefiting those of the public, and they decided that, as far as lay in their power to prevent, the law should *not* be "permitted to have a growth." Consequently, when the next year's report was made, the commission found itself under the necessity of asking for no less than twelve amendments, some for the purpose of settling disputed constructions and others to amplify the powers conferred where they had been found insufficient.

By the act of March 2, 1889, Congress amended sections six and ten of the original act in regard to the printing and posting of the schedules and the penalties for its violation. But the report of the same year (pages 107–9) asks for "certain additional legislation, important and necessary, for the practical administration of the law."

Space will not permit the enumeration of the desired amendments. Chief among them and foreshadowing the long struggle in Congress and the courts was the amendment to the twelfth section, "relating to the attendance of witnesses and to the taking of testimony by deposition." For just here was the seat of the trouble. Congress might legislate as much as it willed in regard to what the railroads should or should not do; the commission might issue subpœnas to its heart's content for witnesses whose testimony was absolutely necessary to just judgments and the attainment of the ends contemplated by the act, but if the railroad officials disregarded those subpœnas, or if they obeyed them and testified to just as much as suited them and no more, it was manifest that this entire scheme "to regulate commerce" was a harmless thunderbolt.

The report of December 1, 1890, among the nine amendments which it lays before Congress, emphasizes (page 68) the incompleteness of the twelfth section and also recites (pages 377–91) the Counselman decision, which had, in the United States District and Circuit Courts for the northern district of Illinois,

resulted adversely to the plea of constitutional protection made by the witness on the ground of self-crimination. About a year later, January 11, 1892, this decision was unanimously reversed by the United States Supreme Court (142 U. S. R., page 547), and the petitioner discharged, the court holding, among other things, that the protection granted by Section 860 of the Revised Statutes was incomplete, and that, in view of the constitutional provision, a statuory enactment, to be valid, must afford absolute immunity against future prosecution for the offense to which the question relates, Section 860 having provided merely that "no evidence given by him (the witness) shall be in any manner used against him in any court of the United States in any criminal proceeding."

This was the most serious blow that the Interstate Commerce Law had yet received. The commission, in their report for 1892 (page 39) deplore the situation, stating, as one of the direct consequences of the decision, that "in a number of cases in the lower courts where indictments have been found for criminal violations of the act, witnesses have availed themselves of their privilege and refused to testify. The prosecutions, therefore, have failed and numerous other cases have been *nolle prossed* because of the impossibility of securing evidence to convict."

And the discovery of the truth, they add, was thus hampered as well in civil as in criminal proceedings. An instance is given in the following extract from a letter of a United States attorney at Chicago to the commission:

> In a postal case I tried here last week two witnesses refused to testify, relying on the Counselman case. As the law now stands, it cannot be enforced; and the attorneys who attempt it encounter the jeers of the press and of the attorneys for the defendants.

Immediately upon the rendering of the Counselman decision, the cry went up—principally, however, from the railroads and allied interests—that the Interstate Commerce Law was dead. This was far from being the case, however, for, though necessarily badly crippled by it, the commission had other and important functions left to it unimpaired. And in addition to this, those who were hostile to it found that there was behind the law

with all its imperfections a popular demand for their correction which would brook no denial until every possible means had been exhausted. This demand resulted in the enactment of February 11, 1893, to the effect that—

> No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or from producing books, etc., before the Interstate Commerce Commission . . . . on the ground or for the reason that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him, may tend to criminate him or subject him to penalty or forfeiture. *But no person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture on account of any transaction, matter or thing, concerning which he may testify or produce evidence before said commission.*

This enactment was made to meet the requirements of the Counselman case, namely, the insufficiency of the protection afforded by Section 860 of the Revised Statutes. But still the railroads resisted upon precisely the same ground. Their contention took definite shape in the case of one Theodore F. Brown, auditor of the Allegheny Valley Railroad Company, who had been subpœnaed as a witness before the grand jury of the United States District Court for the western district of Pennsylvania to testify in relation to a charge against certain officers and agents of his road for an alleged violation of the Interstate Commerce Act. He was interrogated as to certain discriminations and rebates and, "with all respect to the grand jury," declined to answer for the reason that his answer would tend to incriminate himself. Judge Buffington, in an able opinion, adjudged his excuses insufficient, ordered him to pay a fine of five dollars for contempt, and to be taken into custody until he should have answered the questions. Upon *habeas corpus* to the Circuit Court, Judge Acheson affirmed this ruling, concurring entirely in the opinion of the district judge. The case was then taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and, after full argument by Mr. James C. Carter for petitioner and Mr. George F. Edmunds for the respondent, the judgment of the Circuit Court was, on March 23, 1896, affirmed, Shiras and Field, JJ., dissenting.

In substance the court held, through Brown, J., that the act in question is constitutional and *does* afford a witness the protec-

tion and immunity called for by the Counselman decision; that the immunity is applicable as well in state as in federal courts; that personal disgrace or opprobrium attaching to the exposure of his crime does not render a statute exempting a witness from prosecution therefore insufficient, and that finely drawn contentions of the bare possibility of being subjected to the criminal laws of another sovereignty and of the annoyance and expense of pleading immunity are altogether too remote and insufficient to justify a serious allegation of conflict with the constitutional provision in question.

This was indeed a victory. It had been accomplished only after months and years of waiting, of shaping and re-shaping proposed legislation, and the nicest study of the charts for the avoidance of the sunken rocks of unconstitutionality. But it was accomplished. We await with interest the report of the commission in December next for an official statement of what all must be assured will be its far-reaching effects. But we know from the press dispatches that it has breathed new life into the law, that it has already caused the flight of several witnesses in the Beef Trust investigation, and that the "jeers of the attorneys for the defendants" are heard no more, but that, on the contrary, a bill has been introduced in Congress, at the instance of the trusts, since the decision mentioned and those about to be mentioned, increasing the maximum pecuniary penalty for violation of the Interstate Commerce Act from $5,000 to $15,000 *and abolishing the imprisonment feature.*

Anything except disclosure!

II. One week after the opinion in the Brown case was read, two other decisions were rendered which, if not of equal importance with that case, go far toward ascertaining the powers of the commission under the original act and that of February 10, 1891, amending it in the direction of an enlargement of its scope.

The first of these cases was that of Texas and Pacific Railroad *vs.* Interstate Commerce Commission, 162 U. S. R., page 197, and as far as concerned the judgment of the court upon the particular principle involved was a victory for the railroads. It

was an import rate case, involving the effect of ocean competition and ruling in substance that—

> Ocean competition may constitute a dissimilar condition, and circumstances and conditions which exist beyond the seaboard of the United States can be legitimately regarded for the purpose of justifying a difference in rates charged by railroads between import and domestic traffic.

The decision of the commission was reversed and they were ordered to take into consideration this factor of ocean competition. The opinion was delivered by Shiras, J. Mr. Justice Harlan read a vigorous dissenting opinion upon this and one other point, and it is a matter of regret that want of space forbids the insertion of certain extracts from it here. Mr. Justice Brown concurred in it and Mr. Chief Justice Fuller read a brief dissenting opinion as to what, in his judgment, constituted competitive conditions.

But the victory of the railroads was almost a barren one; for, in the first place, it is manifest from the opinion of the court that an enactment of four lines, making perfectly clear the intention of Congress to the opposite effect, would be entirely within its powers. And, second, in the course of the opinion, rulings are made and language used than which nothing more favorable could have been asked by the commission. It is held that the commission is a body corporate with legal capacity to be a party plaintiff or defendant in the federal courts; that the commission could proceed against a railroad in a judicial district other than that in which is its principal office, or in which the acts complained of took place, and that valid complaints, for the purposes of the case, may be made before the commission by incorporated boards of trade or chambers of commerce. In giving the history of the act, Justice Shiras says:

> While shippers of merchandise are under no legal necessity to use railroads, practically they are. The demand for speedy and prompt movement virtually forbids the employment of slow and old-fashioned methods of transportation. . . . . At the same time the immense outlay of money required to build and maintain railroads and the necessity of resorting, in securing the rights of way, to the power of eminent domain, in effect disable individual merchants and shippers from themselves providing such means of carriage. From the very nature of the case, therefore, railroads are monopolies.

And while it leads up to the ruling as to ocean competition above mentioned, the following language is worthy of note:

It must not be overlooked that this legislation is experimental. Even in construing the terms of a statute, courts must take notice of the history of legislation and, out of different possible construction, select and apply the one that best comports with the genius of our institutions and therefore most likely to have been the construction intended by the law-making power. Commerce, in its largest sense, must be deemed to be one of the most important subjects of legislation; and an intention to promote and facilitate it and not to hamper or destroy it, is naturally to be attributed to Congress.

In connection with which, as showing the general trend of the court, it is most pertinent to recall another of its utterances, 158 U. S. R., page 591:

Constitutional provisions do not change, but their operation extends to new matters as the modes of business and habits of life of the people vary with each succeeding generation. The law of the common carrier is the same to-day as when transportation by land was by coach and wagon, and on water by canal boat and sailing-vessel, yet in its actual operation it touches and regulates transportation by modes then unknown, the railroad and the steamship. Just so it is with the grant to the national government of power over interstate commerce. The Constitution has not changed. The power is the same. But it operates to-day upon modes of commerce unknown to the fathers *and it will operate with equal force upon any new modes of such commerce which the future may develop.*

It is safe to say that Congress at its approaching session will be called upon to use the "express language" demanded by the court, to give to American carriers, as Mr. Justice Harlan expresses it, "like service as their foreign competitors in order to place their manufactured goods, property, and merchandise with interior consumers." For, as he further observes,

The act to regulate commerce secures them this right. To deprive them of it by any course of any transportation, business, or device is to violate the statute. Such a deprivation would be so obviously unjust as to shock the general sense of justice of all the people of the country, except the few who would receive the immediate and direct benefit of it.

III. The third case involved a principle which was a necessary link in the chain and without which, indeed, another wide door would have been opened to evasions of the act. It was

that of the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway *vs.* Interstate Commerce Commission, 162 U. S. R., page 184. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that—

> When a state railroad company *whose road lies within the limits of the state* enters into the carriage of foreign freight by agreeing to receive the goods by virtue of foreign through bills of lading and to participate in through rates and charges, *it thereby becomes part of a continuous line*, ... *and thus becomes amenable to the federal act in respect to such Interstate Commerce*, and having thus subjected itself to the control of the commission, it cannot limit that control in respect to foreign traffic to certain points on its road to the exclusion of others.

Comment upon the decision is not needed. Its importance may be illustrated, however, by instancing the case of the Pennsylvania Railroad, with its great transportation business within the bounds of the state of Pennsylvania, now adjudged, as to foreign freight, to be subject to the control of the commission.

It may not be out of place to mention here, in passing, the unfortunate delay that has attended the settlement of these contentions. The cases should have reached a conclusion years ago. The complaint in the case last cited was filed in 1889: the orders of the commission were entered in both in 1891. They were passed upon by the Supreme Court in 1896.

IV. The last case to be mentioned is that of the United States Pipe Line Company *vs.* Pennsylvania Railroad, decided June 30, 1896, by the Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey. To the lay reader this case presents perhaps more of general interest than any of those mentioned, as being a well-timed judicial rebuke to corporate greed and selfishness.

The Standard Oil Trust was the real plaintiff in the court below and sought to enjoin the United States Pipe Line Company, an independent and rival corporation which had dared to dispute its sole right to the business of carrying oil in pipes, which crossed this very road, to the Atlantic seaboard, from crossing, or rather carrying, the pipe line *under the tracks* of the Pennsylvania Railroad at a point about two miles south of Belvidere, N. J. It was shown that such crossing could do no possible harm to the tracks; that the pipe line crossed other

railroad tracks at more than forty different places, the majority of them being surface crossings, and that no leakage or accident had ensued, and that no other rights of the railroad company could be in any wise interfered with. The railroad company rejoined with a long and intricate claim of title, resting its case chiefly upon adverse possession and an old agreement between former owners which had never been recorded.

Counsel for the Pipe Line Company stated thus forcibly the real issue:

> It appears by the proofs that this railroad company has already permitted another Pipe Line Company—a branch of the Standard Oil Trust—to pass its pipe under its tracks, which is now carrying oil across them; that this pipe line has been in operation for some years. It does not appear that the railroad company ever objected to such crossing. It does not appear that it was ever injured by it. Presumably it had no right to object. If it had and did not, presumably it permitted such crossing. We have, therefore, the case of a creature of the state of New Jersey assuming to say whether commerce shall be carried across the state, or of permitting it in one instance and forbidding it in another. The state of New Jersey itself could not grant such special privileges. Shall its creature be permitted to do so? This is the effect: passiveness and inaction in the one case; affirmative and aggressive opposition in the other. It is as effective, so far as practical results are concerned, as if this railroad company had the right to say to one person, "You may cross under this track and through the state of New Jersey for the purposes of commerce," and to another person, "You shall not so cross." To deny to these respondents the right to pass under this track is to leave a monopolistic "trust" in possession of a special privilege granted by favoritism by a corporation which holds the right to pass over the land only by the sufferance and grant of the state of New Jersey for public purposes and not for private uses.

The vice-chancellor granted the injunction, as prayed for, to the railroad company. The Court of Errors and Appeals reversed his decree and permitted the crossing by the pipe line in the manner contemplated.

(It is worthy of note that, since this decision was rendered, counsel for the railroad company, with an energy worthy of larger compensation, have instituted a common law action of ejectment against the Pipe Line Company upon substantially the same cause of action.)

It has been credibly reported that the chairman of one of the

great parties in the recent political campaign declared in its earlier stages (although he seems since to have changed his opinion) that the tariff would be the dominant issue of 1896. And the candidate of another great party has said that the election would turn upon the financial issue. It is respectfully submitted, however, that neither of these exclusive suggestions is correct. A feeling of unrest, of doubt, and of apprehension as to this very question of the extent of corporate influence upon our institutions is abroad in the land. Many who cannot solve to their own satisfaction the mysteries of the silver question are able to understand thoroughly the action of the Beef Trust in saying to the butcher, "You shall not buy your meat from your neighborhood stock-raiser, and, if you disobey us, we will see that your supply is cut off and your business destroyed." Many others who give up in despair the effort to define the "unearned increment" know what it means to pay $3.15 a keg for nails as against 85 cents a year and a half ago, and they grasp the full meaning of a rise overnight in the price of shovels from $3.00 to $5.40 a dozen.

They would be satisfied if the manufacturers were to explain that they had been doing business at a loss and were compelled to make a moderate increase in the price of their product; but they know that a sudden rise of from 100 to 300 per cent means plunder and nothing else; that it is grossly in excess of what is necessary to yield a handsome profit to the members of the trust, and that a large portion of the trust's expenses takes the shape of yearly bonuses, running up into hundreds of thousands of dollars to firms who would otherwise be competitors, in consideration of their "shutting down."

Yes, the people can understand these and like things. The furnishing of other instances, precisely similar in effect, would be an easy matter. Steel billet pools, foundry and forge iron, barbed wire and tin plate combinations, plate-glass, wall-paper, and electrical supplies are now controlled by their several trusts, or, as they have recently elected to be called, "gentlemen's agreements." The "pocket nerve" is just as sensitive in the people's market-places as it is in Wall Street, and the

political mathematician of this year who does not take this factor into his calculations will find his conclusions sadly awry.

For, put in its plainest form, the issue is simply this: Shall the trusts and corporations of the land own it in fee simple absolute by reason of their control of its functions of government, or shall the already sufficient laws against them be executed?

An unexecuted penal law is worse than dead. It is rotten and a stench in the nostrils. With an attorney general and district attorneys in full accord with the spirit of the act, and state officials executing with equal vigor their several anti-trust laws, the machinery could be set in motion and kept in motion until there should be presented to a waiting people the finished product—the sight of a great combination that had placed a false estimate upon its strength in comparison with that of the law and had found itself mulct in thousands of dollars of fines ("each day to constitute a separate offense"), proceedings for the forfeiture of its charter not only begun but concluded adversely to it and its officers imprisoned for the maximum term as common law-breakers.

Only a few object lessons like this will be necessary. Then the situation will have been radically changed—by a resolution, perfected but bloodless. And men will learn that a statute for the prevention of crises in our national life is not a collection of meaningless words, but instead that they must read and study and yield to it in spirit as well as letter their obedience—if not for love, at least for very dread of stern prosecutors, just judges, and unpardoning executives.

Denunciation without proof, outbursts of wrath, the one party against the other, are not becoming, nor do they hasten in any degree the arrival at a sound conclusion. They rather detract from the strength which should be husbanded for the final trial upon the merits, where evidence and reason can alone be the winning factors. One thing, however, is certain: that is that hereafter the lamb must not be confided to the nurture of the wolf; that the lifting of these portions of our law out of the dust where they have lain so long must be committed only to

friendly hands, and not to officers whose habits of thought for years as corporation attorneys have rendered them instantly suspicious of, if not hostile to, legislation directed against corporations.

It should be remembered that in voting for a president we vote also for an attorney general. Now shall the next incumbent of that office be a member of a party, the platform of which, in the face of a great national danger, is, for reasons which need not be stated, absolutely silent upon the subject? Shall he be a complaisant gentleman of recognized ability in other matters, officially hostile, of course, to all federal law-breakers, although deploring a decision of the Supreme Court favorable to the enforcement of the act, as having been made by "a bare majority of the court," and quoting from the "succinct statement" of the *dissenting* opinion to describe "the far-reaching consequences of the decision"? (See report of attorney general, December 1, 1894.) Or shall he, on the other hand, be a man who will assume his office with the old-fashioned intention of doing his duty; of accepting the law as he finds it, and of executing it regardless of consequences to a stock-holding friend or an official who has been a large party contributor, but by his violations of the act has opened to himself wide prison doors?

Is such an idea as this chimerical or can it be realized? If it is practicable, let a great effort be made to accomplish it, and then, if successful, let hearty support be given to the officer and his assistants who are to enforce the act "under his direction." But if it is to be decided that this is a government of the corporations, by the monopolies, for the trusts, then the sooner that it is known and final judgment rendered, the better for all—that all may begin to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee—to worship the "superior commercial skill" which in the former day was known as felony—to join in the loud acclaim, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and to utter again the most brutal mob-taunt of all the centuries, adapted to the American people, "They saved others: themselves they cannot save."

GEORGE BRYAN.

THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORM.

BY W. H. T. WAKEFIELD.

"HOW shall we reform criminals, tramps, paupers, politicians, government?" These and similar questions, with attempts to answer one or more of them, occupy a leading place in contemporary literature. Many of these attempts at answering the riddle are very crude, dealing with but one factor where many are involved, treating symptoms as diseases, or transposing cause and effect, while but few go to the root of the problem. It is well that so many see the crying need of reform, even if but the few see the way to reach it, for wisdom comes from discussion, and crude writers pave the way for closer reasoners and clearer thinkers.

Many pleas for reform ignore the causes which render the reform asked for, as some persons try to be religious without forsaking their sins.

When the economic policy of a nation has been such as to encourage monopolies and discourage industry, or otherwise by class legislation to concentrate great wealth in the hands of the few and impoverish the many, tramps, paupers, and criminals are the inevitable and natural result. Any attempt to lessen their numbers or improve their characters while the producing causes remain unchecked is futile. It is much easier for society to stop creating criminals than it is to reform them while continuing to produce new ones; and society cannot put back into the tramp or pauper that manhood which it has first crushed out of him and at the same time continue the crushing process.

To repent of and forsake sin is as indispensable a step in the regeneration of a nation as it is of an individual. For an individual to violate the laws of health through intemperance and debauchery is to invite disease, suffering, and early death, but not more certainly so than for a nation to invite the degradation

of its citizens through violation of the social law of justice and equality in legal and social rights. With the nation as with the individual, "our pleasant vices have become whips to scourge us." Russia has nihilists; Britain Fenians; Spain and Italy anarchists, and the United States tramps, thieves, and paupers, because of their economic and political legislation, and all can cease to have these disturbing elements by changing legislation, but not otherwise so long as continuing causes produce continuing effects. That bad citizens originate in bad government is a truism which only the very ignorant will question.

Were not the average men and women good, rather than bad, civilization and society could not exist and the perpetuity of the race would be imperiled. Governments should be as wise and as honest as the average citizen, but who dare say such is or has ever been the case. Governments should reflect the character and the will of all the people, and be up to the best standard of culture and character, but who can point us to such a government? Do we not affirm the contrary when we speak of "the filthy pool of politics," and of "feeding at the public crib"?

The first step in any reform must be the reform of public opinion, and it is a hopeful sign that public opinion is now turning as never before to sociologic, economic, and political questions.

The first step in character reform must be economic reform, for no intelligent person questions that the average character of any people is a reflex of their measure of economic justice.

To secure economic reforms we must first secure reform of the political machinery which results in legislation. Government cannot reflect the culture and character of the people—cannot be as good as the people—until all the people can participate in it, until every ballot is made equally effective, and this is possible only through proportional representation, of which we think the Hare system the best form. Under our present system of election by plurality it is rare, if ever, that fifty per cent of the voters are represented in legislation, while the successful minority is mostly of the illiterate and unthinking class who can be herded and voted through meaningless catch-cries by the professional politicians and servile tools of monopolies

and corruptionists. The Hare system of voting, and to a less extent the free list system of Switzerland, would purify politics, bring learning, ability, and integrity into public service, smash political machines, and render obsolete partisan prejudice. Legislation would then cease to be several centuries behind the progress and culture of the age, and would represent man rather than Mammon, culture rather than ignorance, and patriotism instead of party.

When all of the people are represented in legislation the wisest and best of them will be chosen to legislate, and to administer the laws. Then we shall have neither the positive plutocracy of the Republicans, the negative conservatism of the Democrats, nor the vague and *non sequitur* theories of Populists, but "the philosophy of freedom," in which statute law shall conform to natural law, personal matters be left to personal judgment and conscience, and public matters considered solely from the standpoint of public welfare. Science, rather than precedent, will then guide legislation, a sharp clear line will be drawn between public and private functions and values, public utilities will be administered by and for the people at cost of service; the landlord will be sent to join the slaveholder in oblivion; land values will be taken for the public uses of all the people who create them, in lieu of all other forms of taxation; all can have homes and employment by paying the rental value of the privilege enjoyed—paid not to an Astor or other landlord but to their own treasury; there will be no taxes, restrictions, nor monopoly tolls upon industry and production of wealth; each can enjoy his full product and none can extort blood money for privilege of inhabiting the planet. With homes and abundant work for all, the tramp and the pauper will resume their manhood—not fully nor at once perhaps—but no new ones will be made; crime will practically cease, for it will be easier to produce a living than to steal it and there will be no monopolies to set them the example.

Access to nature's bounties upon equal terms for all is the fundamental reform, and without it all other reforms are vain and worthless.

W. H. T. WAKEFIELD.

BRIBERY AND THE LAW.*

BY MARGHERITA ARLINA HAMM.

LAWS, whether in the form of constitution, statute, or ordinance, are rarely good reading. The most readable and the most interesting are those which are unwritten.

The constitution of Great Britain, the common law of our race, and even the conventionalisms of refined society are vast systems which move and change to suit the changing conditions of human society. Yet all laws are of the profoundest interest to either the student or the scholar. Their complete understanding involves a knowledge of language, of historical jurisprudence, of the development of society, of the history of nations, and of the progress of civilization.

A complete knowledge of the constitution of the state of New York would be a complete knowledge of the growth of the American nation, of the aborigines upon this continent, and of the mighty chain of centuries through which our race has lived in Europe and probably upon the greater continent of Asia. There is no bank of earth, no bare and frowning cliff or coast, but is a huge volume of information to the geologist. To his trained eye it tells a tale of life and death, of long periods of peace and giant cycles of storm, of ages of growth and eras of catastrophe, the birth and death of continents and the appearance and disappearance of individuals, species, genera, and even kingdoms of animal and vegetable life.

So with all laws and constitutions. They are, when critically examined, nothing but mounds, large or small, of fossilized facts, ideas, and institutions. The smallest tells a tale of human interest, and many tell a hundred tales of right and wrong, of vice and shame, of oppression and revolt, of struggle and moral

* Read before the Society for Political Study by the author, who is editor of the Woman's Arena of the *Mail and Express*.

triumph, of the never-ending victory of good over evil and of progress over the material forces of the universe.

The Statute of Frauds, for example, conveys in its very title the summing up of a period where organized wrong made such a law a necessity. The Law of Eminent Domain tells in no uncertain terms of the despotism and iron rule under which humanity lived for generations, and also of the evolution of moral ideas and the development of humanity, until the absolute power of the autocrat was transferred to the people, until the golden crown was cut into myriad badges of gold and each pinned upon the breast of the single individual. The statute which created the ballot-box presupposes the open hustings where men were driven like cattle and obliged to vote as suited the convenience of their social and political superiors. So in turn the statute adopting the Australian ballot presupposes stuffed ballot-boxes, the falsified register, corrupt rings, and political dishonesty and crime.

It is in this way that all law should be studied. It is only in this way that laws can be properly understood. Regarded from this point of view, it is obvious that laws follow, and must follow, conditions. It is after the evil has begun to expand that the law becomes necessary to prevent, abolish, limit, or modify that evil, and it is only those evils which can be thus remedied by law which justify the enactment of statutes. Thus viewed, Article XIII. of the new constitution is not altogether pleasant reading to the patriot and the lover of humanity.

It consists of six sections. The first imposes upon legislators and all public officials the duty of taking an official oath before entering their office, and then prescribes the oath which shall be taken. The second section makes it a felony for any office-holder in New York State to receive or consent to receive anything of value with the understanding that the same shall affect his official conduct. The third section makes it a felony to offer or promise a bribe to any official.

The fourth section permits a person charged with bribery or being bribed to be a witness in his own behalf. The fifth section prohibits officials from asking, accepting, or receiving

free passes, free transportation, or franking privileges from telegraph or telephone companies, and the sixth section provides for the removal of any district attorney who fails to prosecute any person guilty of violating the other provisions of the article.

The article of the new constitution is the same as in the old constitution with the exception of the fifth section, which is practically a prohibition of official "deadheads." At the time it was passed it received the hearty approval of probably every honest citizen in the state. It put an end to an evil that had grown to outrageous proportions. Yet, strange to say, it is safe to assert that three fourths of all the men in the constitutional convention who voted for it had committed, not once, but scores of times, the very acts which their votes condemned as crimes and made felonies for the future.

This simply indicates that queer phase of public morality which considers it right and proper to do an immoral action not prohibited by law and utterly wicked when that prohibition has been put into legal form. The evil, as may be seen from the language of the article, is of modern growth. When travel was conducted by stage coaches, schooners, and canal boats owned by individuals, it was obviously impossible for any public official to get a free pass from his home to Albany or elsewhere. The railway and the steamboat, the telegraph and telephone necessitated immense accumulation of capital and extensive and influential corporations. The corporations could easily afford to extend franking privileges to a small element in society such as political officials have always been. What began as a courtesy soon developed into a species of corruption fund on the part of the corporations and into a field of booty on the part of the officials.

It increased until it culminated in instances where assemblymen and senators have been known to carry passes upon every railroad and steamship line doing business in the state; franking privileges from telegraph and telephone companies, and complimentary tickets from every express company. They were not satisfied with passes for themselves, but obtained them

"for bearer and wife," "bearer and one," and, it is said upon good authority, "for bearer and party." Under the express franking privileges some grasping legislators have frequently taken their furniture from New York City to their rooms in Albany and have brought it back at the close of the session.

Even lower depths were reached, as if to prove that it is impossible for a number of men to engage in evil courses without some of them reaching the very bottom of the pit. Assemblymen and senators have been known to secure large quantities of these deadhead tickets from various corporations and to sell them first to friends; then, as the evil grew, to strangers, and finally, when they were lost to shame, to brokers and scalpers. It is perfectly obvious that where a person is in position to get for nothing what costs and is worth thousands of dollars, and what can always be sold at a reduction in the open market, he will be sorely tempted to try the experiment if on the other side poverty, dissipation, or vice appeal for money gained in this dishonorable manner, and only self-respect holds up its hand in protest. With too many in public life the vanishing of self-respect is the first step of their political career.

While the section prohibits deadheading on railways and boats in telegraphy and telephony, it does not prohibit the asking and receiving of complimentaries from express companies. These are still in demand to-day and are to be found very well distributed among men high in public office. The last deadhead express card I saw was numbered between 3,500 and 4,000, and was issued, of course, by one company. As there are quite a number of large express corporations, it is fair to infer that there must be at least 20,000 of these cards in use to-day. The legislators who use them regard it as a matter of perfect propriety, and do not seem to think that the cost of carrying their goods is really borne by the other patrons of the express companies whose free ticket they have received and employed.

The section is also faulty in that it does not prevent, either directly or indirectly, the use of a free pass by an official's wife or one of his family. It is perfectly easy for Mr. John Smith to evade the law by having Mrs. John Smith secure a pass for her-

self and one. This has already been tried by some of the brilliant representatives we elect to govern us, but so far as I have been able to ascertain the corporations to whom application was made have had the moral courage to refuse granting the request.

Neither does the law extend to such events as theater passes, complimentary tickets to excursions and parties, parks, piers, groves, and other events of partly social and partly commercial character. The evil here is, however, very small and is to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, in cities of the first and second class.

The first four sections have long been the organic law of our commonwealth and have been productive of good. They have "scotched the snake," but not killed him. Only where they have been reënforced by explicit statutory enactments have they succeeded in approximating their desired purpose. In the first section one half may be termed merely formal; that is the part in which the official swears to support the constitution of the nation and the state, to perform faithfully the duties of his office. This is almost a matter of supererogation. It is obvious that any man who tries for an office and gets it will try to discharge his duties. There is no danger here whatsoever. The danger lies in that he will do something wrong in getting the office and that he will do something wrong after he has secured it. The real dangers are treated by the second half of the oath, which is directed toward electoral bribery. As to bribery, there has been a great improvement in the past decade, and particularly the last five years. But the improvement has occurred not from the provision in the constitution, but from the action of many laws and the greater interest taken by good citizens in municipal politics. The change, nevertheless, has been confined to the coarse and clumsy bribery which consists in offering and paying a lump sum of money for a citizen's vote. This form of crime was common in the sixties, reached its maximum in the seventies, and has been slowly decreasing ever since.

In the seventies the market price of voters was a subject of jest among professional politicians. The chief slur upon the late

President Arthur was made by himself in his famous speech at the time of Garfield's election, when he spoke of "frying the fat" and securing votes in Indiana in "blocks of five." It was the boast of a notorious political party of this city for many years that on election day, besides all its officeholders and captains of election districts, it had at least three men at every polling place who got $10 apiece for their day's work. In districts where a man's wages were as low as $4 and $5 a week such a course must have been a tremendous power and wielded a terrible influence for evil. In Brooklyn, in many of the wards and in the town of New Lots, there were regular brokers who each year organized their followers into so-called independent associations and then offered their votes to the leaders of the two great parties for the highest bid. Votes sold this way ranged from $2 to $10 apiece, and when, in addition, there were hotly contested fights for local office, the figures were doubled and even trebled.

Next to this form of bribery was a second one not so evil, but much more wasteful and foolish. This was the saloon canvass, which was formerly made by candidates in all the great cities. The candidate, accompanied by several district leaders, would start in the early afternoon and call upon every saloon possible in his district. The number ranged from ten to fifty, according to the shortness of the visit and the number of visits made. He was introduced to the proprietor of the saloon in person, and to all the guests who might be there in a short speech. He was expected to make a few remarks, and then to treat the entire assemblage to drinks and cigars. The expense depended upon the number of customers who happened to be present, but chiefly upon the honesty or rapacity of the landlord. No candidate soliciting votes could afford to dispute a bill, and a landlord, knowing this, would frequently double or even quintuple the rightful charge. A single round of John Morrissey, when he made his famous run against Augustus Schell for Congress, cost him $98. Comptroller Steinmetz, of Brooklyn, in the campaign which was long remembered for its intensity and industry, is said to have visited one thousand saloons. The climax was

reached, it is said, in a celebrated race for the state Senate in this city, when one candidate set the pace by using a roll of bills in which the smallest denomination was $20, and refusing to take any change. The expenditure was enormous, and kept the district at a floodtide of alcoholic enthusiasm until the polls were closed. But a careful study of the figures showed that the tremendous outlay had little or no effect upon the opinions of the voters.

The law which compels every candidate and organization to file a statement of expenses has done away largely with both of these forms of political corruption. The law itself was borrowed from England and has been and is an admirable addition to our political jurisprudence.

One more form of bribery still remains untouched and will remain so until we have some sort of an operative civil service, and that is the promising of places. As a matter of fact there are very few candidates who have many places to dispose of. Even in regard to those which are purely within their own personal appointing power they have really no liberty of action. Party organization and the unwritten law of political duty are so well developed among both parties that it makes but little difference who is elected or appointed to office so far as the filling of subordinate positions is concerned. The machine does the appointing, the machine does the nominating, the machine does the electing, and the machine fills the offices.

This is known to every expert politician. It is known to every student of politics. It is probably known in a vague way to the youth who casts his first vote, or the foreigner who has just taken out his naturalization papers. Nevertheless, the immortal principle of egotism prompts every individual to believe and to act upon the belief that he himself is more important than the rest of humanity, and that, if he can but get the promise of the candidate, the machine will welcome him with open arms. So when a person is nominated for an office he is worried and driven to death by even his own household. Every man who has known him any time in the past, who has ever done business with him, who does not know him but knows

some friend who belongs to the same party, insists upon calling upon him and obtaining the promise of a specific office or some office of any description in case of an election. The practice applies to every position. The alderman is as much pestered as the senator, the congressman as the mayor, the judge as the assemblyman. The luckless candidate is placed between Scylla and Charybdis. If he refuses to promise, the man becomes indignant and goes away, swearing eternal vengeance, and, if he promises, he does so knowing that he is utterly unable to execute what he has agreed to do. A man advertises for a bookkeeper in a New York daily paper, and receives two hundred and fifty applications in response. A man runs for Congress, and he has five hundred men call upon him to obtain pledges for office or emolument. Where a candidate is good-natured his life becomes a sheol upon earth.

When Dr. Keller, of Brooklyn, ran for coroner he had over 1,000 calls at his home. His parlor was occupied by strangers from 5:30 in the morning until 2:30 the next morning. His wife, children, and servants were insulted twenty and thirty times a day. His furniture was broken, his carpets ruined, his wine cellar robbed, his books taken, and only the power of the Republican organization of Kings County could keep him from resigning after the first ten days of the campaign. The experience of this gentleman is probably the experience of every gentleman who runs for a high office the first time. The old and trained politicians know how to evade or avoid this trouble without giving offense, but it takes long years of experience before this extraordinary talent can be developed. The evil is as great as ever, and although Section 1 of the constitution endeavors to abolish it, the section is practically a dead letter.

Only one man of whom I have heard ever had the courage to combat the evil. This was President Seth Low, when he ran for mayor of the city of Brooklyn. He published a card in every paper that he would not receive any political visits or visitors at his home, and that all visits and communications should be to the headquarters which he had engaged for the campaign. The letter created a great stir, and was a nine days'

talk. It was pronounced a suicidal document by the politicians, and their views were confirmed by a large number of office-seekers who denounced Low in unmeasured terms. But, and this is where the politicians made their vital error, it attracted the attention of the entire city, and so won the sympathy, respect, and admiration of thousands of independent voters, and even of members of the opposite party, that he was elected by a triumphant majority. If all candidates did the same thing the evil would die to-morrow. But there is only one Seth Low in a century.

The second, third, and fourth sections are aimed at the evil of direct bribery of the opposite kind when the bribe comes from a third party to a legislator or other public official. This is another evil which has grown to monstrous proportions and is a very dark cloud upon the political horizon. It assumes as many forms as Proteus. Its simplest form is where the legislator agrees to vote for a bill or vote against a bill for a round sum of money. This is also the commonest form. The next stage is where he agrees to act affirmatively or negatively or not to act at all in consideration of some appointment or some indirect remuneration or return.

The third and more subtle is where he acts in consideration for such immaterial advantages as patronage and power. The first is bribery pure and simple; the last is the machine lash. The first is illustrated by the "Black Horse Cavalry," as they are appropriately termed, who introduce bills every season which will injure opulent interests, and which, for $5,000 or $10,000, are buried forever in the pigeon holes of a committee. The last is where a respectable and otherwise upright legislator votes for a machine bill under the threat of having his political future ruined, or under the promise of having his future glorified and improved.

This evil of bribery is very old, as old, in fact, as representative government. It reached its maximum in the last century, when Pitt, the prime minister of England, carried through the Irish Union Bill by the expenditure of one million pounds sterling. He justified the extravagance upon the ground that

it was a wise investment and that it saved the treasury the expense of buying up Irish parliaments from year to year. Many expedients have been tried to decrease if not to terminate the evil. One is to make the number of legislators so large that no one can afford to buy them up. Another and more common one is to have the sessions of the legislature only once in two years, or once in three. Neither of these plans has been very successful.

The best evidence of the continuance of the evil is the number of professional lobbyists who make a handsome living at Albany. While there is no honor among thieves, yet the general understanding between the lobby and the Black Horse Cavalry is said to be one to four, that is, when it costs five thousand dollars to kill or put through a bill, one thousand goes to the lobby and four thousand to dishonest legislators.

All is grist that comes to the mill of the mercenary. There is a certain percentage of senators and assemblymen who are bound to make money through their office, no matter whom it hurts. They prefer, if possible, to extort blackmail from great corporations, especially insurance corporations, banks, railways, ferries, gas companies, telephone companies, and the like. At the same time they are not averse to levying a toll upon the firemen of this city, the police, and even the bridge policemen of the East River Bridge. Nearly all of those who put money in their purses in this infamous manner pose as exemplars of political rectitude and public spirit. If they are going to fleece the police, their bill is uniformly entitled "An act to promote and improve the metropolitan police force of New York." If they are about to make a strike upon one or a dozen insurance companies, the bill which they introduce for the purpose is entitled "An act for the greater security of stockholders in insurance corporations" or "An act for the greater relief and security of holders of insurance policies." Alongside of them Mr. Pecksniff is embodied innocence. When able scoundrels are at the head of the Black Horse Cavalry the session is lively and large profits are divided among the blackmailers. According to rumor, the Black Horse Cavalry,

from year to year, ranges from fifteen to forty in membership, and come chiefly from the great cities, and the amount of money extorted runs all the way from forty thousand to five hundred thousand dollars.

The greatest improvement thus far effected has been through the passage of those general laws which enable corporations to do and undo things through the courts without recourse to the legislature. Equal improvement has undoubtedly occurred from the greater attention paid by the daily press to all legislative matters. Nor should we forget the influence and endeavors of good government clubs of various sorts, the growth of wealth and intelligence throughout the state, and the development of the independent spirit in both of the great parties. The evil nevertheless is large enough to justify the disquietude and the united activity of all public-spirited citizens.

Within the party moral character should be insisted upon as a condition precedent of all candidacy, and outside of the party all good citizens should unite in voting against the party candidate whose name is synonymous with corruption and political dishonesty.

While Article XIII. reveals political conditions in rather a somber and sorrowful light, it really means a vast advance upon past conditions. Our system is a continuation of the English system; its features are still the English features grown and modified by a century's changes. If we go back one hundred and twenty-five years and contrast the things that were with the things that are we can see how great the change that has occurred. In those days in place of the election district was the borough, at its best unjust, corrupt, and venal; at its worst a burlesque upon all representative government. Of voters there were comparatively a few, scarcely a fifth of the male adults of the population. The voters were treated during the campaign and on election day like the lowest savages. Drunkenness and infamous language, riot and bloodshed were universal, murder and even arson were not uncommon. Hired bullies, cut throats, expert agents, whose business was to bribe, and expert fighters, whose business was to intimidate, were

characteristics of every polling place. Bribery, bestial intoxication, and bulldozing were the three chief political powers.

The man who was elected was in too many cases altogether worthy of the system which elected him. Yet in one hundred and twenty-five years all this has been changed in both Great Britain and the United States. To-day sobriety is the rule, as are honest voting, honest counting, and honest returns. Legislation is comparatively clean, decent, and intelligent. There is still the party lash, which forces through such contemptible legislation as the Raines Bill and the Greater New York consolidation scheme. There is still legislation whose aim is apparently public welfare, but is really the pockets of great corporations. There are still legislators who may represent in some degree of appropriateness the low constituencies which elect them, but they are few and far between. The tone of our legislation, the average of legislators, and the atmosphere of the capital are worthy of much more praise than censure.

Article XIII. is merely an instrument for obtaining still greater improvement. It is good as far as it goes, but it requires legislation to make it more operative and effectual. What legislation is the best for this purpose is for the jurist to say rather than the critic or the law student. It is possible to compel all corporations expending money in and about legislative and legal matters to give an itemized statement of the amounts and the parties paid. It is possible to appoint a commissioner for each industry or group of industries affected by legislation whose veto would send back a law and compel its passage by a larger majority, just as does the veto of a mayor in regard to municipal legislation. It is possible to have a standing committee of investigation in each legislature which will go over and examine the work done at the preceding session and report thereon in respect to any case of bribery, blackmail, extortion, or corruption. It is possible to pass a law whereby those interested in any industry whose capital amounts to a certain sum of money may file a veto of any law affecting that industry, which will act the same as the veto of the governor. These would do away apparently with the Black Horse Cavalry for-

ever, and thus remove an ugly blot upon the escutcheon of the Empire State.

But in the meantime much can be done by the careful and conscientious efforts of the great clubs and associations which are so prominent a feature in our leading cities. Through either the National Council of Women or the General Federation of Women's Clubs, or through similar organizations yet to be made of men's clubs and societies, it would be an easy matter to obtain a fair and just measure of any and every candidate, and to inform the citizens of the worth or worthlessness of the seeker after political office.

One individual can do but little. A hundred cannot do much more. Neither can a thousand, but twenty thousand is a giant factor, even in New York City, and fifty thousand would make or unmake any political party whatever.

Constitutions are excellent as far as they go. Laws are useful to the extent to which they are enforced. But constitutions and laws are without value when the people take no interest in their political welfare, and are content to rest supine while the wheels of administration are guided and controlled by whoever pleases to undertake the task.

Greater than the constitution is public spirit. Greater than all laws is a high public morality blended with a deep and untiring philanthropy. It is well, therefore, that legal enactments should be written in negative form. Any law may say "Thou shalt," but whether the people to whom it is addressed acquiesce and obey is another matter. A jurist must content himself with "Thou shalt not" and leave to the conscience and the intelligence of the individual the fulfillment of the positive duties of life.

Thus, while our new constitution has not arisen to any great height positively it has on its negative side reached a stage in which it well and faithfully expresses the civilization of to-day. Its very recognition in so many words of the telegraph and the telephone shows that it belongs to and expresses a civilization in which these latest creations of science are already an integral portion of everyday life. That it can be bettered all must

admit, but that betterment is not an affair of to-day nor of to-morrow, but of the next century.

With the rapid changes now going on in all the relations of life, social, municipal, and, above all, industrial, ere ten or fifteen years have gone by there will be so many new developments, new relations, and new problems that another section of our Article XIII. and other auxiliary statutes will have to be passed to represent the then existing order of things.

It is well for us that we have not lost the power of changing our constitution and laws when the time for such a change has become ripe. Woe to the people who have no constitution and no laws, but greater woe to those who, having these priceless possessions, permit them to become chains of invisible steel which, first fitting, finally compress and strangle.

The child, the stripling, the youth, the adult, and the full-powered man have each the raiment which befits his years and dignity. As he ages he puts away his old apparel for that which comports with his new stage.

Constitutions are but the clothing of that larger individual, the modern commonwealth.

MARGHERITA ARLINA HAMM.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY.

BY HON. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

THERE is no question that the demand for better city government in this country has grown in strength and intensity during the past few years. In all sections of the land and among all classes of people we find a discontent with present municipal conditions and a sincere desire for betterment. I find, however, that while there is this strong dissatisfaction, there is no adequate conception of what good city government really is. This is largely due to the fact that the subject is such a broad one that it cannot be defined, but rather must be described. Time will not permit one even to indicate what good city government in its fullest concept is; but it will be sufficient for the purpose of our discussion to suggest what it is in certain directions. To do this will require that we draw upon the experience of European cities; and I indulge the hope that I shall not be deemed unpatriotic in these days when so much of cheap and tinsel jingoism passes for love of country if I admit what every candid observer must admit, that in most matters municipal many of our European sister cities have outstripped us.

I think we will all agree that an abundant supply of pure water is a prime requisite for a city. Indeed I am sure we can concur in Dr. Shaw's averment, that "in a general way, it may be said, the amount of pure water that is daily distributed to the people of a great city and that is safely drained off with its collection of impurities measures the progress of material civilization. The modern ideal is a strong, pure volume of water, derived from sure and constant sources that are beyond danger of pollution, forced by ample pressure, through a network of mains and pipes penetrating every abode." Judged

by these standards Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Vienna have attained to high standards and solved the problem not only for the present, but for the future as well. Drainage is of almost equal importance and these cities applied themselves to the solution of the two problems at the same time.

In 1873 Berlin was a decidedly unhealthy city. It had an inadequate supply of poor water, and dependent on the sluggish little Spree to drain away the sewage. All this is changed. An abundant supply of water from new and remote sources has been obtained, and its purity secured by an elaborate system of filtration plants. The Spree has been abandoned as a sewer, and an elaborate "radial" system built up. The city is divided into five general drainage districts, and these again subdivided into twelve. Drain channels laid in the principal streets converge at the lowest level in the several districts, where the tanks and pumping stations are located. Tunnels connect these with the city's farms some miles away. On these farms, containing more than 20,000 acres, the sewage is used as a fertilizer. This great plant cost $50,000,000; but in a few years the investment will begin to yield a fair profit and a surplus for the sinking fund.

Vienna has latterly secured a water supply from the Alps, twenty miles away, since which time typhus, cholera, and other infectious diseases have greatly decreased. In 1848–57, the yearly death rate was 42 per 1,000. In 1875 the Alpine water was introduced, and the death rate fell to 28.57 per 1,000. In 1893 Hamburg had not completed her extensive filtration plants. She still drank the filthy water of the Elbe, and a great cholera epidemic resulted. In 1894, after the plants had been completed, she secured a good supply of wholesome water, and there has been no recurrence of cholera symptoms. Glasgow secures her water from Lake Katrine in the Highlands, which she owns. Under business-like management rates have been reduced, the pressure increased to the great advantage of the fire department, and there has been accumulated a surplus which will eventually pay the original cost. Manchester brings

her water ninety five miles, from Lake Thirlmere, where she owns the entire watershed.

I am not advised as to whether Providence has a water problem. If she has not, she is fortunate, indeed. I do know, however, that it is a serious, a burning question in other cities. In my own, for instance, the present supply is limited in quantity, and although not so bad as alleged, still sufficiently filled with impurities to make it at times most uninviting to say the least. Instead of going to work as a business man or a private corporation would, or a German city, and studying the problem from every point of view, and then after determining upon a plan, systematically carrying it out, we have adopted one makeshift after another, spending large sums of money and getting very little return. Indeed, we have within the past five years spent three millions on two reservoirs, neither of which have been or can be used, because they will not hold water. And our experience is only that of many other communities. Can any one consider the experience of Berlin and then of Philadelphia and fail to perceive which represents good government and which poor and inefficient government?

For an illustration of good management, or good government in relation to street-cleaning, fortunately we do not have to go abroad. We simply have to compare New York City before and during the Waring administration. We are all familiar with the marvelous transformation in the streets of the metropolis since a business man took hold of the street-cleaning department and ran it on business principles in the interest of the city and the citizens and not for a political machine and the politicians.

We can obtain a fair idea of what good city government means by a consideration of the ways in which municipalities deal with the vitally important question of transportation. Let us take the now familiar example of Glasgow. In 1872, she having built her own tramway, leased it for twenty years to a corporation upon the following conditions: The lessees paid the interest on the city's investment; an annual sum into the sinking fund equal to 1-20 of the original investment; four per

cent per annum for repairs and renewals; besides an annual rental of $750 per mile. With all those conditions and the further ones that the city should fix the rate of fare, the original lessees sold the franchise for $750,000, and the new company has paid dividends averaging from eight to eleven per cent per annum. In 1894 the lease expired and the city determined to assume control and run the cars. This it has done with excellent financial results, after reducing the fares, reducing the hours of labor, uniforming the men, increasing and improving the rolling stock, and building new lines. The city closed its first year with a surplus of $403,014, after paying all the working expenses.

The experience of Toronto is equally instructive. In 1891 the city bought the street car systems and leased them to an American syndicate for thirty years upon the following conditions: A tax of $800 per annum per mile; eight per cent on gross receipts up to one million, ten per cent on all between one and one and a half millions, and so on, on the principle of progressive taxation. The city has full control over the company as to fares, hours of labor, number of cars, speed, and location. The company also had to pay to the city the amount it paid for the plant.

Compare these two instances of shrewd business management of valuable assets with some of Philadelphia's method. It will not be necessary for me at the conclusion to ask which is good and which is bad municipal government. One of the most favored corporations in the city was the Philadelphia Traction Company. Whatever it received at the hands of the complaisant councils was subsequently granted to its competitors, the People's and Electric Traction Companies, on the ground that there should be no discrimination in such matters. In short, it was argued that when one company received a grant for no consideration, every other company applying should receive one of equal value on the same terms, because it would be unfair to treat one differently from the other. This has not been the universal rule with councils, however, as instance the grant to the Mutual Automatic Telephone Company. In January, 1894, the

Drawbaugh Company sought to secure the necessary authorization to introduce its system into the city, and a month later the Central Telephone Company made a similar application. Neither has as yet received the desired authority, although the Mutual Automatic Company, which made its application in June, 1894, had the pleasure of seeing its ordinance passed and become law in but little over a month.

Whether councils have followed the precedent established in the case of the trolley privileges, or that of the telephone, the result has always been the same to the city. The public has received next to nothing for franchises which our own experience and that of other cities teach us are worth millions of dollars. Take for an illustration the value of the franchise granted to the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Streets Passenger Railway Company in 1858. The company started with an authorized capital of $1,000,000, of which $334,320, or $16 75 per share, was paid in. In 1892 the company leased its line to the Philadelphia Traction Company for the following rentals: from January, 1892, to 1894, $9 per share; from January, 1894, to 1897, $10 per share; from January, 1897, to 1900, $11; thereafter $12 per share. All that the Philadelphia Traction Company received was the franchise and right of way and the real estate occupied as terminals. The rails and rolling stock were shortly replaced by a modern trolley equipment.

These rentals therefore represent either a large dividend on the investment or a moderate return on a valuable asset. If the former, the rentals represent, respectively, 54, 59, 65, and 71 per cent on the original investment, or a six per cent return on stock worth successively, $150, $166.66, $188.33 and $200 per share. After January 1, 1900, the stock will have increased about twelve-fold in forty years, an increase due solely to the enhanced value of the franchises.

In August, 1895, the competing trolley companies agreed to unite, and the Union Traction Company, with $30,000,000 authorized capital, was accordingly organized, and with the single exception of the Bostonville line all the trolley privileges passed into the control of a single company. Of course, such an

amalgamation was only accomplished by the new company guaranteeing large dividends and rentals to the older companies. Whether it will continue to be able to pay all its guarantees on their capitalization, which exceeds a hundred millions of dollars, remains to be demonstrated. The chances are that it will, as it has no competition to fear, and there is no prospect that the population of Philadelphia will soon, if ever, be less than its present figures.

The fact remains that the great increase in the value of the original investment has accrued to the individual and not to the public, without whom there would have been no such increase. All that the city received in return was the repavement of the streets occupied by the companies; but Glasgow received this much in addition to the other returns. Philadelphia has a five per cent fare, with eight cent exchanges and no free transfers.

I think it is a well-established fact that we have not had good government in our American cities. That much can be taken for granted if the statements of men like James Bryce, Andrew D. White, James C. Carter, and Charles J. Bonaparte are to be taken as correct, and I believe they can be, absolutely. The question logically arises, Why do we have poor, inefficient, and in many instances corrupt government, and what obstacles stand in the way of applying business methods to our municipal affairs? Briefly stated, the answer is: 1, American commercialism; 2, the spirit of partisanship; 3, the misplacement of emphasis since the outbreak of the Civil War; 4, an erroneous political perspective; not to mention executive legislation and want of local autonomy.

Commercialism or undue absorption in private business or an undue desire to accumulate wealth has been the distinguishing characteristic of the average American during the present century and especially since the Civil War. It is the one feature more frequently referred to and more generally commented upon by foreign observers than any other. It is no doubt true that the rapid development of our country and its unparalleled growth in wealth and numbers have absorbed the energies of our people; and now that we have passed the stage

of expansion and entered another, which should be one of cultivation, we seem unable to leave off the habits formed under the spur of necessity and essential to recover from the evil effects of internal dissension.

It leads to the absorption of the best business talent in every community in private business affairs, because the legitimate rewards are larger and because there is a permanency of tenure not to be found in public affairs. The returns in mercantile, manufacturing, and professional pursuits have been much larger than the honest returns to those holding equally responsible positions in our cities. Take the salaries paid to the mayors of large cities and their chief departmental assistants. They are entirely out of proportion to the skill and ability which should be brought to the position. The heads of large corporations dealing with interests as large and as varied and handling about the same amount of money, receive salaries from five to ten times as large, besides receiving a share of the profits accruing from their successful management. I am willing to admit that there is a certain honor attached to public office; but we may not be able to afford such honors, any more than other very desirable things. So long as the returns from the same amount of application in public business are so disproportionate to those received from private business we will find the latter absorbing the best administrative and executive talent to the manifest detriment of the former.

Undue emphasis upon party loyalty has brought about a transfer of allegiance from public affairs to party interests. Voters since the Civil War, at least, have felt that their first political duty was to their party. Naturally politicians have fostered this sentiment; for by pandering to it they have attained and maintained power. In fact, they have boldly called themselves the party, and punished treason to themselves as treason to the party, a charge few care to rest under.

The politicians entrenched behind partisanship have wielded their power to compel party allegiance where there has been a tendency to independence. It is the old course of events—a strong, persistent sentiment, creating a condition which itself

becomes the conservator of that sentiment, after it has spent its original force and served its original purpose.

During the Civil War, and for many years after, the rallying cry in our politics was "measures, not men," a cry still heard and still effective. So grave were the issues before the people during and immediately after the war that they fell in with the idea that measures were everything and men of but subordinate importance. Always a mistaken and unwise policy. It is still more so now, when the issues are mainly business ones. The average American voter feels and believes there is some magic in a good measure which will modify and transform a bad man into a good one. The sound, practical wisdom of putting good men into office, irrespective of what their position on certain public questions is, does not seem clear to the average mind. The thought that a man may be a free trader and yet be a thoroughly good and competent business man, or a high tariff man and at the same time a capable public administrator, does not seem to have occurred to the majority of those exercising the franchise. A distinguished ex-cabinet officer and ex-senator put the case concisely when he said, "I would prefer to have the laws made by Lucifer and executed by Gabriel than made by Gabriel and executed by Lucifer." This misplacement of emphasis has led to party politicians and machines furnishing party measures of the most inspiring character as a cloak to the candidacy of weak and susceptible men. When measures alone are discussed we are apt to lose sight of the character of the man nominated to carry them out.

The organization of extensive political machines on the plea that great measures must be backed up by organization has been persistently urged. The real purpose, however, of the machine is to plunder the public for the personal profit of the politicians. We see great political parties maintained in other countries without the support of such machines as are regarded as essential here.

Time will not permit of a discussion of certain other causes that are at work in our American municipalities to prevent their full and complete development, but only of a brief reference to

several prerequisites to good government, without which we cannot hope for any change in present conditions and methods.

I do not need more than to refer to the necessity for civil service reform, the limitation of the great use of money for corrupt purposes, and the need of better nominations. I desire to devote the remainder of the time allotted to me to emphasizing the need for the absolute separation of municipal affairs from state and national politics, and to the great need for higher standards of citizenship. Without the absolute separation of municipal affairs from state and national politics we may expect but little of permanent value. We must decide municipal questions from a municipal standpoint, not from that of a national party. It is all right and proper to have national parties for national issues, but we must have municipal parties for municipal issues. We all will agree that it would be folly to permit a municipal party to have any part in the determination of national parties. It is equally unwise for national parties to interfere in municipal matters.

The one thing, however, essential beyond all others, and without which nothing can be accomplished in the way of good government, is good citizenship. We can get good government only through good citizenship. We need good laws, but we need good men to make them, good men to execute them, and we cannot have good legislators and administrators unless we have good citizens alive to their duties as well as to their privileges.

The political machine, which is all very well in its way so long as it is directed toward public-spirited ends, is but another manifestation of the same spirit, but when directed to private interests, and those not the highest, it can only work harm. The good citizens must learn of the practical politicians if they desire to effect their ends; and opposed to the bad government machine there must be a good government machine. The problem, then, that confronts us is how to organize the good citizens against the bad citizens. It is a problem second in importance only to that which confronted the nation in 1860, but is much more difficult, because it does not so strongly appeal to the

dramatic instincts of the community. To solve it will require the same heroism, the same self-sacrifice, the same continuous effort, as the solution of the problem of 1860. The fight to eliminate slavery involved the integrity of the nation—the fight to eliminate municipal corruption from our cities involves the integrity of the units comprising the nation.

Wendell Phillips prophesied that the great solution of the problem of our cities will test our free institutions more severely than our struggle with human slavery.

Our first great contest as an American people was to secure our independence. The next step in our development was the extension of our territory. Then we were confronted with the necessity of establishing equal freedom and maintaining the integrity of our nation as a whole. Now we are face to face with the question, Shall representative government fail, and shall we confess to the world that we have not the power to maintain our political units pure? God forbid. Let us remember that the American people solved some of the greatest problems that ever confronted a free people, and just so surely will they solve the problem of the city.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

INFLUENCE OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

BY DR. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

THOUGH not in the active practice of the profession, the many and important questions which come before me for review or decision keep me in constant touch and interest with the law.

Our associations are as national, as broad, and as liberal as the authority of the Constitution of the United States and the jurisdiction of the courts. The law is the only one of the professions whose members will both criticise themselves and accept criticism from others with cheerfulness and equanimity. Any one who has tried it often, as I have, will discover a singular sensitiveness among the clergy, the doctors, and the journalists. No one can be faithful to his calling and have in it that loyal pride which makes for success without being jealous of its rights and privileges and proud of the distinction it confers. But it is never wise to take one's self or one's pursuits too seriously. All professions but ours resent raillery, ridicule, or fun at their expense, or doubting suggestions of their infallibility. We, however, care little for the shafts of envy or of malice or of sport. We submit without response to things that are said about us, and the judgments which are pronounced upon us by the lay or professional brethren in the serene consciousness that clients must continue to contribute to our support, and that neither individuals, nor corporations, nor municipalities, nor states, nor nations, can get along without us.

It was a magnificent array of noble barons and gallant knights who, upon prancing chargers and in glittering armor, gathered upon the field of Runnymede. But they could only poise their lances and shout their battle-cries for declarations of the principles of liberty which had been prepared by the lawyers, and when the great charter had been drawn up by

those learned in the law these mighty nobles were compelled to affix their signatures by a mark and stamp their seals with the hilts of their swords.

The early Puritan period has furnished to eloquence and poetry a halcyon picture of Arcadian peacefulness. "For one hundred years," cries the speaker, "these communities lived with no judges to puzzle and no lawyers to vex them." At the risk of the charge of iconoclasm I must break that venerable image. They had courts, but they were ecclesiastical ones, and they had lawyers, but they were the Puritan ministers. Doubtless these learned clericals conscientiously and justly settled neighborhood disputes between individuals, but the peace of communities and the rights of its citizens rest upon broader foundations. They hung witches, they expelled Baptists, they banished Quakers, they drove Roger Williams, the most enlightened man of that period, into exile in a wilderness; they demonstrated that under a theocracy, as under an oligarchy, or a despotism, liberty cannot be maintained except by the eternal principles of law and a learned body of men to interpret and courts to enforce them.

We will select as types of the Puritan period and the period of the development of the law Rev. Cotton Mather and Oliver Ellsworth, both educated for the ministry, both men of genius, culture, and acquirements. Cotton Mather in passing judgment and inflicting sentences created conditions which virtually destroyed civil and religious liberty, while Oliver Ellsworth, having become learned in the law, and adopted it as a profession, prepared the judiciary article of the Constitution, devised the system and procedure of the Supreme Court of the United States as it exists to day, and in an illustrious career as its chief justice began the formation of that body of law which has promoted justice and enlarged liberty in our country.

We are accustomed to pay superlative tribute to the great soldiers of our country. Washington and Greene, and Schuyler and Gates, of the revolutionary period, and General Scott and General Jackson and Commodores Decatur and Perry, of the War of 1812, and Grant and Sherman and Sheridan are all

embalmed in the richest rhetoric of our history, the most stirring pages of the school-book, and the most glowing periods of our eloquence. In lesser measure we glorify the statesmen of the republic.

It is the story of our nation that its origin and development have been due to a few great leaders. We have little written and less understood of the large debt we owe to a few great lawyers. Alexander Hamilton was the most brilliant and constructive intelligence of his own or of almost any age. He was the leader of the bar of the United States. With prophetic vision he saw the possibilities of the limitless expansion and power of this country, and the impossibility of its development unless it became a nation. The colonial statesmen were jealous of the rights of their colonies and unwilling to surrender the autonomy of their commonwealths to a central government. With infinite tact and with marvelous condensation of language Hamilton captured the assent of the discordant members of the young confederacy to a constitution which created a republic bound together, as they thought, by a rope of sand, but tied, as he knew, in bonds of indissoluble and indestructible union. The task of interpreting the Delphic utterance of Hamilton into a lucid exposition of national power and grandeur fell upon that other leader of the bar of his time, Chief Justice Marshall. When he decided, in 1803, that the Supreme Court of the United States could annul a statute which had been passed by Congress and signed by the president, he prevented the possibility of the usurpation of power by the legislative or executive branches of the government, or both combined; he safeguarded liberty, life, and property against legislative anarchy or legislative communism. When he decided five years later that the Supreme Court of the United States could declare invalid the acts of the legislatures of the several states which were in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, he linked the states together by a chain of law which could only be broken by a revolution. When, still later, he held that this same majestic tribunal had jurisdiction over and could bring before it the warring commonwealths of the republic, and render judgment upon

their differences, he made impossible organized war between the states.

We pass down another generation and the conflict which Hamilton foresaw and furnished the broad language to cover, which Chief Justice Marshall gave the law to decide, of the rights of the states and the powers of the government, became a political question of the first moment. Then again the leader of the bar, in a speech in the United States Senate, unequaled for the felicity of its diction, the power of its logic, the sustained and lofty grandeur of its thought, proclaimed the doctrine of "liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever."

This great lawyer was Daniel Webster. His speech went into the school-books; it formed the declamation for the coming citizens, soldiers, and statesmen of the republic and created a deathless and passionate love for the Union. Another generation came upon the stage, educated and enthused by the eloquence of Webster, and another lawyer, supremely great as such, though too much in politics to be a leader of the bar, had devolved upon him the supreme task of supporting the idea of Hamilton, maintaining the decisions of Marshall, carrying out the doctrines of Webster, and of so concentrating the resources of the country for its defense and the powers of the Union for its maintenance that he might hold the republic together by the overwhelming force of arms and cement it with new and eternal ties by justice and forgiveness, and "with malice toward none and charity for all," this majestic work was performed by Abraham Lincoln.

The great minds of other countries and of centuries preceding our republic saw the dangers to liberty of the concentration of judicial authority in the executive of the legislature. Montesquieu pointed it out clearly when he said in effect that if the executive has judicial power it is tyranny, and if the legislature has judicial power it is tyranny. To advance the judiciary to the point where it would be absolutely independent of the throne and of Parliament, of the executive and of Congress is impossible in older countries. Whether it be a limited monarchy, as in England, a republic, as in France, or autocracy, as

in Russia, the traditions of the throne will not permit the judiciary to curb its authority. Whether it be a Parliament, as in Great Britain, a Senate and House of Deputies, as in France, or a representative body, as in any of the continental countries, there is in them, and especially in their upper house, a heredity of feudal authority which will not brook the judge criticising its actions or nullifying its laws.

Fortunately for us, our ancestors, trained and educated in the best traditions of civil and religious liberty, approached the problems of government without the heredity of monarchy or feudalism. They had neither classes nor privileges. It was possible for them to declare in principle and formulate in practice the idea of Montesquieu and the philosophical statesmen of preceding generations. They could create the executive with its powers, the legislature with its authority, and make a written constitution and organize a court which could say to congresses and presidents, "This constitution is the supreme law and your acts must conform to its provisions or they will be null and void and of no effect." In this innovation in government and powers of the court we have the preservative principles of American liberty and the perpetual continuance of American opportunity.

Every decade, almost every year, has its problems for solution and its critical time. It is the mission of the bar, and one which it has always fulfilled, to forecast or to meet these dangerous situations. This is a lawyer's government; its constitution was framed by lawyers, all but three of its presidents have been lawyers, all but five of its vice-presidents, seven tenths of its cabinet ministers, and the majority of its congressmen, senators, and members of its state legislatures have also been lawyers. The lawyer is a man of peace, but he is also a man of action. His courage is exhibited both in restricting popular clamor and in leading patriotic enthusiasm. He formulated the demands which led to the Revolution, and when nothing but war could secure them, he enlisted in the Continental army. The lawyers did their best to settle the controversies between the North and South, but when only the bloody arbitrament of arms could

decide the contest, in proportion to their number, more lawyers enlisted in the Union and Confederate armies than came from any other vocation or calling.

The questions which the profession are especially to meet to-day are many, and one of them is that the law shall not be degraded by unworthy practitioners. With all that may be said against the lawyers, fewer of them are rascals, fewer defaulters, fewer faithless to their duty than the members of any other profession upon which devolve obligations and trusts. The weaknesses of humanity enter into our calling, as into every other, but wherever the profession has been degraded, it has been by the legislature lowering the standard and admitting to the bar those who had neither the character, nor the learning, nor the equipment to interpret the law, to protect the weak, to remedy wrongs, or to enforce right. Cheap law and cheap lawyers not only degrade the profession, but they promote litigation and let loose a horde of incompetent and unworthy practitioners to prey upon the community. The standard of admission to the bar should be made higher and higher, so that those only who are worthy can be admitted. We should devote our efforts to the simplification of procedure.

It is a standing disgrace to the civilization and the intelligence of the United States that there are more homicides in our country in proportion to the population than in any other civilized nation. It is not due, as is believed by foreigners, to a contempt for law, to want of authority in the courts, of integrity in juries, but to the fact that obsolete and worthless rules of pleading and practice defeat justice. A man's life is more precious than the life of him who takes it. That the murderer should escape because there may be a technical flaw in his indictment throws the community in a rage back to those principles of natural justice where, there being no law and no courts, the murderer was tried by his neighbors and upon proof was executed with no other appeal than that which might be made to the Supreme Judge of the universe. We should brush aside these technicalities, which bring the law into contempt, protect murderers, and make life cheap. When the Appellate

Court decides cases upon their merits, upon the guilt or innocence of the accused, there will be substituted in this country for Judge Lynch the supreme authority of the law and its appointed or elected administrators.

Lawyers can generally be trusted when they become judges. The history of our country demonstrates this assertion, and the history of Great Britain, from which we derive our law, establishes this principle. Coke, as attorney-general, was subservient to the crown, but as judge defied the king and sustained the sovereignty of the law. This reform must be brought about only for the peace of communities, not only to promote respect for the law, but that in foreign countries there may not be the universal impression that all our judges go by the name lynch.

The domestic relation is the most sacred in a civilized community. "Home" is the sweetest word in the English language. He who assails it is an enemy of his country and the statute which weakens it is destructive of social order and of domestic happiness. We should strive to bring about that uniformity of law which would give in every state the same rules for divorce. We should so legislate, if necessary, by Congress, under the provisions of the Constitution, that a state or territory may not for temporary gain say that the sacrament of marriage can be sacrificed upon a whim and without notice and compel older communities, which recognize in their statutes the sacredness of the obligation, to obey this travesty upon law and morals.

Steam and electricity have made possible the accumulation of great fortunes and the formation of powerful combinations. The world has not adjusted itself to these circumstances, and sudden and violent disruptions of industrial conditions produce distress, doubt, and distrust during the process of reorganization. It will require all the courage, patriotism, and ability of the lawyers in public and private life, during this tentative and critical period, to guard both against assaults or encroachments upon individual enterprise, opportunity, and liberty, and the delusive dangers of socialism and anarchy.

I know of no more charming member of the community than the old lawyer. I studied with a judge who, as I left his office, had completed the eighty-sixth year of his life and the sixty-fifth year of his practice. The old lawyer is the custodian of the secrets of the community. If he has been true to his profession and to his best instincts and teachings, he has been the benefactor of the village or the town or the county in which he has spent his life. He has settled family disputes, he has reconciled heirs to the provisions of wills, he has adjusted satisfactorily to all and to the prevention of family feuds the distribution of estates, he has prevented neighborhood vendettas on boundary lines, he has brought old-time enmities into cordial friendships, he has made clients and money by being honest, faithful, and true. The secrets of his register, of his safe, and of his memory are the skeletons of the family closet of the whole neighborhood. But the process of modern cremation does not more perfectly destroy the human frame than does this lawyer's fidelity to his oath keep out of sight these family skeletons.

The law promotes longevity, because its discipline improves the physical, mental, and moral conditions of its practitioners. The world has been seeking for all time the secrets of longevity and happiness. If they can be united, then we return to the conditions of Methusaleh and his compatriots. Whether I may live to their age I know not, but I think I have discovered the secret of Methusaleh's happy continuance for nearly a thousand years upon this planet. He stayed here when we had no steam and no electricity, no steamers upon the rivers or upon the ocean propelled by this mighty power; no electric light, no railways spanning the continent, no overhead wires and cables under the ocean, communicating intelligence around the world, and no trolley lines reducing the redundant population. He lived not because he was free from the excitements incident to the age of steam and electricity, but because of the secret which I have discovered, and it is this: Longevity and happiness depend upon what you put in your stomach and what gets into your mind.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

CENTRALIZATION THE CURE FOR POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

BY L. P. GRATACAP.

II.

THE problem of American government is the suppression and extinction of political corruption, the elevation of a public sense of duty, and the enlistment of the services of the possessors of the highest executive talent for public office. Every device which will discourage trickery, bribery, dickers, pull, peculation, partisan trading, and the vulgar expectation that the "stuff," the "boodle," will purchase favors and create place should be drawn into service, so that this stigma and misery of political venality should be expelled from the clean and durable system of our methods of self-government.

Now it may turn out, in the future, that it is a true commentary upon the development of political infirmities, the process of political degradation and atrophy, that in a system of distributed power, such as ours, the renewal of health, the correction of moral decrepitude lies in the contraction of power, the increasing elimination of many offices and the creation of a few. While, *per contra*, from systems of centralized power that have run their course there springs by the same healthy process of recuperation a system of distribution and complicated fusions of representative methods.

And we might further speculate that these opposite states of centralization and distribution of power would again react and interchange, that in fact they form the diastole and systole of a political system of self government, as contraction and expansion are the functional phases of a breathing body. The political condition that found itself in need of the first after a time would return to the second, and one which from motives of self-

preservation had assumed the form of the second would gradually revert to the first. Indeed the state of political equilibrium so ingeniously provided for by the founders of this commonwealth was meant to proceed from an equal allowance of play to both these tendencies.

But there has entered a disturbing agency, which destroys the purity of our government and forces the system toward centralization in its spontaneous effort to correct its own maladies. This agency has been the peculiar incentives to personal ambition in this prosperous country. The opportunity of making fortunes and the existing fact of equality with the introduction of groups of aliens who recognized both, and had previously enjoyed neither, has set open the pathway to the most excited hunt for position and wealth. The latent hope of attaining social or financial power in the less or greater measures vouchsafed to small or larger circles of men under the accidents of their position in villages or cities has spurred them on to the most persistent efforts to gain both. The ameliorations of life, the expanding sense of a desire for the numerous pleasures introduced into life by science and art, industry and invention, the gratifying exhilaration of progress and ascent, the enhanced value of living, the sentiment of possession, the new prospects for posterity, have hurried the nation into a race, a stampede, after that which brings all these things, viz., money. Every avenue of business has been entered, the widest possible activity in designs for making money has prevailed, and finally the business of politics, for "what there is in it," has been added to the other avocations of profit.

The interests of party became allied with the necessity of voters, and the latter, from their position of dependence upon a party's success, invoked every stratagem which could insure its victory at the polls, while those whose interests were more prominent distributed their patronage in promises and their emoluments in bribes. Politics made fortunes, the game deepened, and no advantage in the contest escaped the combatants, and no spoils or indirect profit was lost sight of by the victor. Mr. Curtis described the condition of public service

previous to the establishment of a system of civil service in these words:

> From that time (1840) until recently, party has prostituted the power of patronage as ruthlessly, as arbitrarily, as selfishly, as dangerously to liberty and the public welfare as it was prostituted by the Hanoverian kings. The public service ceased to be regarded as a public trust and had become party spoils; and when Mr. Jenckes raised the first battle-cry of civil service reform in the sense in which it is demanded by this league, the abuse was apparently impregnable, in tradition, in conviction, in the strongest passion, and the most venal interest. It was held that the whole civil service in every degree, political and non-political indiscriminately, from the English embassy to the scrubbing of floors and the carrying of coal in the public offices, was the mere perquisite of the successful party. In 1848 Mr. Buchanan, then Democratic secretary of state, declared in a public speech that if General Taylor did not proscribe his opponents he would prove faithless to his party. And long afterward a Republican secretary of the treasury told me that when the country changed the party of administration it meant to change not only the secretary of the treasury, but the messenger at the door of his office.

But besides its vitiating influence on those who were its beneficiaries, besides the immoral effect on the communities outside of these participants in crime which Lecky alludes to as a "leprosy," it distinctly helped to deteriorate the character of public officials while it made public office not a public trust but a public purse. Politics were put under a ban, and a sort of stigma attainted the name of politician. He became a popular target for satire, and the vulgar opulence or its vulgar display in many to whom politics brought all the means of extravagance and insolence was the theme of philosophers who began to doubt the value of popular freedom. And it also was the envy of others who saw nothing reprehensible in its being the means of helping an adventurer or a speculator to fortune.

Besides making office less attractive to those who might bring to it talents and dignity it helped to introduce among the ordinary competitions and competitors of business and society, outside of politics, a tolerance of dishonesty, and a faint commiseration for those who refused to surrender their self-respect.

We are told that in England since the emancipation of the agricultural laborer, his recognition as a human being, and his

admission to the ballot, the government of village communities has improved. The deplorable condition of the rural laborer, before the agitation started by Joseph Arch, has been altered, and the local landlord, the lord, the squire, are more interested in helping his material condition since he has become an effective element in political conflicts. He was hopelessly poor, oftentimes hopelessly embruted by his surroundings and the shocking and shameful destitution of his home. That has measurably changed and now the upper class exercises a protectorate over the shire, it enlists the healthful resources of its knowledge to improve and protect it, it assists at its festivities, as indeed it always did, but now with a more illuminated notion of the laborer's needs and a respectful consideration of his voting strength. The social relations in English rural parishes between the peasantry and the farmer or tenant and some resident country gentleman are so different from all the phrases of life here (for which we should be deeply thankful) that no parallel can be established. But whereas there the more cultivated and richer members of society become the officers of the county, or have a preponderating influence in it, here the reverse obtains, and such duties are shunned by the rich and educated. And in towns and in cities the same avoidance of public life is noticeable. Abroad the town or city councils often are composed of educated and well-known men whose character and experience are an assurance of integrity and wisdom. They are not disturbed in their office by recurrent ejections through the wavering results of frequent elections, but remain unmolested, making their administration more valuable because of confidence in themselves and their constituency.

There is no intention to deplore any differences in the political conditions of this country and England. There is every reason to exult over the contrast which exists. That activity, the buoyancy, invigorating homogeneity of motion among all classes in this country which bring up to the surface the lowliest member of society, if he has ability and courage, and sends the vitalizing shock of mental and moral ubiquity

through all sections of men is the most glorious symptom of our purpose and our success.

But it is a vice, in our political system, that pertinacious and impertinent mediocrity or inefficiency can elbow aside more valuable and necessary qualities, that the political field does not invite to its contests the young collegian, the man of business, and the retired gentleman. It is a vice that so much public work is done imperfectly and with so large an admixture of venality; that some sort of pecuniary gain other than legitimate compensation forms the motive of so much political ambition, that we have grown accustomed to partial results and excuse an indifferent administration because it is not emphatically bad; that we condone peculation if not too flagrant and not too apparent. It is a vice that voters cannot be sure enough of the intentions or the qualities of the officials they elect, and that professional apologies for conduct sooth the public conscience, and professional bids for support flatter public pride, that we are so ignorant of what public officials are doing and so indolent in trying to find out, that partisan and local favor constantly commit injustice against individuals, or districts, and that trickery so often amuses and captivates those who suffer and those who profit by its practice. Can we not at least modify, without injuring or changing their real nature, our political habit so as to lessen if not prevent these calamities?

In the "True Republic" Mr. Stickney, some twenty years ago, urged upon the consideration of readers an extraordinary and almost violent remedy for the numerous defects of our present system. He pointed out, sometimes with an unfair inclination toward exaggeration, the imperfect and corrupt character of public officers, and said that as a nation we failed to adopt those methods of employment which in business and science gave the most satisfaction, viz.: we did not keep good men in office when we had them, nor did we reward them in such a way as to invite their continuance in office, as was customary in private engagements. We failed, indeed, utterly to give any assurance that good service meant a long duration of employment. Mr. Stickney denounced party. He was in-

clined to extirpate it, to put it out of sight forever, believing that the whole retinue of evils which we have reviewed springs essentially from its coarse and poisonous luxuriance.

The disappearance of party from the political stage would end very abruptly a form of popular diversion and a playground of personal whimsicalities which would rob our public life of all its picturesque interest. It would more seriously bring to an end the engagement of public attention to public events, which is now periodically asked in national or local issue, and the theater of partisan efforts would be permanently closed. The stage now so variously animated by the dramatic movement of men, whose solicitations for the popular applause, in all the windings of their plots and side acts, exits and entrances, unfailingly entertain the spectators, would become an empty scene, occasionally crossed by a declaimer, or reserved for a stereotyped tableau; the audience would fall asleep, and the interesting hazards of political fortunes would end.

A people so keenly stirred by all passing events, so innately sympathetic to the pictures of combat and device which party offers, and so shrewd in their average judgment of men and measures, could scarcely tolerate the annihilation of so large a fund of incident and conversation. Besides the appeal to judgment grows clearer every year; passion, prejudice, even pride in party is vanishing; the politician cannot so entirely hoodwink, plunder, or deceive the people as formerly. The prospect is promising, and a way to improve public service, cleanse politics, and liberate ourselves from the opprobrium of public corruption may be found in another device, approaching that of Mr. Stickney's, but not aiming to replace the commotion of political contests with the torpor of political peace, or, as the inflamed imagination of Jefferson would have pictured it, "the boisterous sea of liberty" by "the calm of despotism." This device is *centralization*, or increasing the power of public officers and lessening their number.

There are considerations in favor of this plan which appeal strikingly to common sense, and there are reflections suggested by experience which make it reasonable. In the first place it is

a plan commonly adopted in business, in engineering and construction, in war and art, to make responsibility rest upon a few shoulders, in fact as few as possible, and to exact from a few or one an unremitting supervision and a complete accountability. It is also certain that a more critical estimate can be made of the qualifications of one man than of many, and the margin of error in judgment is narrowed when selection moves among a few rather than many. Again, one occupant of office can act with definiteness, expedition, and knowledge. He possesses the requisite fund of power to realize his designs, and the detail and scope of his plans are not endangered by interference or opposition. His very elevation and its undivided dignity administers a keener choice in his servants and a higher zeal in his work. He feels the isolated interest of his position and forces his activities of mind to the last stages of profitable response. Or, if he does not, if laxity, failure, incoherence, and vacuity characterize his administration, his inadequacy is more clearly declared than if these results became vaguely distributed to the account of two or more.

In the large combinations of enterprise and money which form the department stores of our cities, or in the aggregations of professional men in firms, the system of separate responsibility in the different branches of the business or profession is adhered to, and each head is expected to control and direct the whole mechanism of his department and report its transactions, and the control and the report are the evidence of his ability, the measure of his claim upon confidence. It is an exacting but successful method.

When we look at the varying and oftentimes disappointing results of public administration, the same system of separate accountability seems obviously recommended. If increased power was given to individual officials and an unequivocal system of punishment provided and a civil service measure enforced, there seems little reason to doubt that expenditure and results would show some pleasing relation of equality.

We suffer, especially in the smaller areas of government, counties, villages, and cities. Here arise rings of politicians,

and they successfully disconcert the better class of voters who are unable to detect their peculations, are unwilling to lose time in their detection, and the labor of collecting evidence. These voters find themselves at election in the presence of a long list of candidates for various offices whose qualifications are most imperfectly known and most unfairly judged. For the most part the shibboleth of party guides the choice, and the security felt in the strength of party affiliations gives to the party managers an unquestioned freedom to "put up" men better calculated to dispense patronage than to save money, or secure its useful expenditure.

Why not cut down the list of elected officers, and elect one or two with wide discretionary powers, upon whom the public eye can be sharply fixed, whose conduct seen, unobscured by the movement of companions in power, or accomplices in crime, will emphatically publish their worth or their demerit? How much easier the preliminary choice when all the avenues of information converge upon one or two men. Besides, the elimination of a "ticket" with its head and subordinates will greatly diminish the feeling of party contest, and substitute more specifically a conflict of the claims of individuals. This might not be less dangerous, in some respects, but it would have a wholesome discouragement upon party demagogism; it would make conspicuous the merits of the claimants, and instead of the call for the loyalty of partisans, we would only hear of the rival abilities of men. As a matter of fact this disassociation from party in small local issues is increasing daily, but the element of a more or less extended ticket to vote and a system of divided responsibilities still hampers the intelligent decision of small elections.

Centralization, as used here, means a further extension of that beneficent feature of municipal charters which now appears in those of New York and Brooklyn, by which one man exercises a wide power of appointment and a useful check upon legislation. It is not desirable to make essential changes, nor indeed necessary to make any formal changes in the higher reaches of our government, but in those numerous cities and neighborhoods

where a considerable population has brought together a variety of necessary interests to control which requires the expenditure of money let the rule of single responsibility prevail. How many towns and village communities suffer from the more or less recognized rapacity of a group of politicians, and secure for a lenient acquiescence in their irregularities a very inconsiderable return in effective, thoroughgoing, wise, and salutary government.

It would seem advisable to put ourselves into an experimental stage in this matter, to try seriously the device, watch its workings, and learn from its results how far it can be considered applicable and useful. Let us begin with the counties. Here a most substantial application can be made because the extremest form of the suggestion can be utilized. We can replace all elected officers in counties by one. To-day we elect judges, supervisors, sheriffs, district attorneys, county clerks, county treasurer, superintendent of the poor, coroners, school commissioners, collectors, assessors, and constables. Cannot this be dispensed with? Is it necessary to nominate and elect the various occupants of this long string of offices, whose qualifications, even whose personal reputation, character, or experience, is as unknown to us as might be that of a resident of the planet Mars? They are paraded before our eyes in a ballot; they receive some florid and highly euphonious endorsement in the local papers or, as circumstances dictate, incur from the opposite guardian of national honor a scathing review in which abuse and dignity struggle with ludicrous persistency. We vote blindly. If indeed we vote intelligently the average result turns the election over to the least desirable nominees. Furthermore, a diminished interest prevails in these minor elections; they go by default; they are felt to be irksome and we trust to good luck or are willing, for our self-indulgence, to condone consequences.

Suppose, on the contrary, we elect a judge of the county who exercised a power of appointment of all those officers of the county in organic relations with his judicial functions, as constables, sheriff, county clerk, district attorney; and an

executive who appointed his subordinates, and a school commissioner whose control over the schools was absolute rather than remedial, would it not be most likely that the importance and urgency of a correct choice would bring out the voting strength of a county? And as much more prominent as these officials with their appointing power became, so much more searchingly would their claims be inspected, while the very gravity of the election with so much broader and deeper outlines of interest would cause *nominations* to be more carefully considered.

More explicitly, the elections in counties might be limited to four candidates—the county judge, the executive or mayor of the county, the school commissioner, and the treasurer. These separate officers should control four departments, appropriately expressed by their several designations as that of the judiciary, financial, educational, and executive, and these four officers should form a council in all cases where matters of concern pertaining to the county arose, upon which decision might more justly be expected from their united deliberations rather than in their individual capacities. Such matters would be the budget of appropriations, the issue of bonds or certificates of indebtedness, or subjects of legislation which might effect the county. The principle of centralization could be further embodied in a sweeping exemption from all legislation affecting the county exclusively and not approved by this council.

From this council a general report of the condition and operations of these four county departments might be demanded, so that the actual status of the county might be well ascertained by the public, this document being in one issue, so that no involved or even moderate uncertainty might exist from the divergent publications at different times of separate reports from each office.

The judge of the county should appoint the county clerk, sheriff, district attorney, and police justices. The executive, or mayor, of the county should attend to all village and county improvements, the state of the roads, the lighting, curbing, and paving of streets, the survey of land for public purposes, and all those duties now vested in supervisors and trustees. The

treasurer should see to the collection and disbursements of funds for all purposes involved in the general and special maintenance of the county, doing so upon a certified demand from each officer in accordance with the appropriations previously, as by law, determined on. The commissioner of schools should have an undivided supervision over the county schools, and an absolute power of appointment of teachers, under the restrictions and regulations of the State Board of Education, within perhaps certain limitations to be defined as wisdom or experience dictates, his expenditures for all purposes having been previously determined by the council. This plan might be somewhat modified in such directions as might be suggested by a just regard for all possible danger in the way of explicit or indirect malfeasance, conspiracy, and oppression.

This of course is centralization in a very distinct shape. It is designed to give good government and to extirpate party in those local fields where its display means simply plunder or indecent and inefficient rule, having no bearing, and of necessity not being permitted to have any bearing, upon the national issues of party, although its hygienic influence would be seen there, in mollifying the more exasperating aspects of party uniformity. It is also a wider and obvious extension of many city charters.

The repugnance probably felt for such innovations by practical politicians would form a safe estimate of its advantages. Repugnance might more legitimately arise from an apprehension that it would consolidate corrupt practices, and have a tendency to form a compact, since limited in numbers and less limited in power—coalition of office-holders, whose robberies and favoritism would be less easily suspected because of the rapidity and closeness with which combination among so few could be made.

This is really not a logical position. The particular merit of centralization is the increased responsibility given to officials, and their greater public prominence. The whole result of their administration is laid succinctly at their doors. They cannot escape exposure, as they cannot, unjustly, secure praise. The whole force of censure and commendation is directed to them,

and, in so far as they must assume a wider area of authority and one exclusively identified with themselves from end to end, the severity of the blame, or the measure of applause, gains a far stronger expression.

Besides the appeal to ambition is so much stronger, and the opportunities of service so much more fruitful, that men ordinarily would reject the more sordid considerations and proffers which engender corruption. At any rate, whether they did or not, their punishment would be in all cases more certain. Furthermore the spirit aroused by such changes, and the acknowledgment made in such changes, of the higher safety to the people of undivided responsibility, would also inure to a tendency to lengthen the term of office and increase its remuneration. This exemption from too frequent interruption and a proper award for service would strengthen the hands of our local rulers and stimulate their zeal.

This simplicity of government is most desirable. It would confine the field of political or party activity, it would emphasize the object of government by increasing the dignity of office, and over a district like a county having common interests it would unify its administration, while the history, method, and results of government would become to every citizen plain and instructive.

It is in contradiction to the intent of centralization that the proposed new charter of the Greater New York contemplates the creation of borough boards who will have some sort of contingent control over sidewalks, paving, lighting, etc., etc. These boards will prove a nuisance. They will form a *nidus* for the lodgment of corruption, and it will not be long before they develop the plague of deals and dickers, or make themselves obstacles to the intelligent physical development of the borough. They should be erased.

Next to the reiterated calamity of a bad and dissolute local government, which perhaps more feelingly touches our individual comfort and economies, the corruption of legislation is the most positive cause for humiliation and anger. In what way can the same principle of centralization cure that?

The increased autonomy of the county will have a deterrent influence upon the unchecked carelessness or venality of legislation, and the county's power to reject legislation if inimical, dangerous, or vicious must have an improving effect upon legislators.

But centralization, if its spirit is realized, opposes legislation. It exacts the discharge of public duties, and the execution of the laws, and minimizes making laws. Its expression is coercive and conscientious. It solidifies power in the hands of a few and expects its active exercise. If the people decide that the deplorable consequences of bribed and misleading and selfish legislation with its innumerable delays, its reckless ordinances, and indiscriminate meddling, its ignorance and party temper, are to be somewhat overcome, let them imbibe the spirit of centralization and force upon legislative assemblies themselves the most desirable piece of legislation they can perform, viz., their own partial abolition.

We have laws enough, we have a too poor and uninterested enforcement of them. Centralization deals in punishment, in censorious inspection, in discipline. The excellent enforcement of laws in Europe is the result or symptom of a long-continued reign of militarism. The people have been bred and drilled into obedience to law, and an expectation that a law shall be executed is as natural, as inevitable, as the habits of life. Centralization has been violently felt in European government; we could profitably adopt it here, without its violent features, and modified, as suggested above, to meet our political requirements.

The impatience against foolish and troublesome legislation is widespread. The sessions of Congress produce business anxiety, and the convening of the state legislation is a signal for corporations to protect themselves or buy their wishes. The assumption of a more centralized aspect of government would be accompanied by a frame of mind which would be perilous for legislative vagaries and assessments. It would result in giving us shortened or less frequent sessions.

The project of centralization is open to the bitterest attacks. It can be denounced as a subversion of popular methods and a

transitional phase to monarchy. This is nonsense. A little less political agitation is most desirable, and as to monarchy it could have no possible tendency to introduce it. The temperament of our people execrates its very name, and no moderate man can be led into such confusion of thought as to imagine that a plan devised to substitute sensible and direct government for a wasteful and mischievous system of office-holders, and the tormenting profligacy of legislation would lessen, in one particular, our freedom of thought, person, and occupation.

The principle of centralization does not banish the fact and function of popular elections; it will not kill our political life, but it would help greatly the simplification of a voter's study of his duty and reach salutary results in administration. It would also open the doors of the political world more invitingly to those who by nature, acquisitions, and talent are fitted to adorn and elevate it.

The people can have it if they wish it, and, as Lincoln said, "with public sentiment nothing can fail, without it nothing can succeed."

L. P. GRATACAP.

OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP.

BY PROF. WILMOT H. GOODALE.

I DESIRE to consider our civic obligations, not from the "spoils" standpoint of the mere politician, nor yet from the careless or indifferent standpoint of the average voter, but rather from the solemn and appreciative point of view of the Christian citizen. Surely arguments are not needed to convince any that this is the proper standpoint from which to consider the subject. And yet there are not lacking those who contend that Christianity, dealing as it does with men more as individuals than as members of society, falls behind even the civilization of the pagans as a stimulus to civic virtue. They tell us that Christianity lays especial emphasis upon personal character, going even beyond stoicism in this respect, and that the stoics were thought lacking in patriotism because, while they recognized the fact that the good man is necessarily a good citizen, yet they proclaimed that his citizenship was of the world and not of any particular community. Christianity, say these objectors, deals exclusively with the individual—every man is to "work out his own salvation," he must "forsake" even his father and his mother, he must ignore all social relationships and ties of country in order to pursue the one important object of self-perfection. The state, according to the Christian standard, say they, is to realize its loftiest ideals in the aggregation, not of ideal citizens but of ideal men with whom the obligations of citizenship are but as few among the many of equal, perhaps of even greater, importance.

Some go even further than this and say that Christianity teaches separation from the world, minifies the importance of this present in comparison with a future life, and unfits its followers for the duties of the one just in proportion as it prepares them for the enjoyments of the other.

On the other hand, they say, with the Greeks the state was always of primary, and the individual of secondary, importance. To quote from a recent writer, who does not, however, indorse the conclusions which I have intimated:

> Plato was so strongly impressed with the social nature of man, and with the necessity of studying his life in relation to society, that, in his study of ethics, instead of inquiring into the characteristics of a virtuous life in an individual, he endeavored first to determine the characteristics of a good state. Having found what these are he considered that it would be perfectly easy to infer what are the characteristics of a good man.*

So thoroughly impressed, our objectors continue, was the mind of Aristotle with the supreme importance of the civic relation, that he defined man as "a political animal," and denied that ethics could be properly taught except as a branch of politics. They assert that the Greeks went far beyond us in the cultivation, not merely of obedience to the state, but also of devotion to its welfare. They quote Plutarch as saying that the enthusiasm of the Spartans for the state bordered upon insanity, and that they had not a wish but for their country.

Words, they say, are facts, and facts are stubborn things, and hence there must have been a time when public sentiment compelled the candidate for office to wear a white robe as emblematical of purity, and when a vote and a vow owned their moral kinship. And, with a levity quite unbecoming so serious a subject, these objectors insinuate that, if the candidates of to-day were to appear in such a costume with such significance, they would set the nineteenth century dogs a-barking at a sight so rare, and that if the clergy of to-day were to imitate the example of the *pontifex maximus* in presiding over elections, they would scarcely be persuaded that the act of voting is generally regarded as a religious duty, even should they find some participants who could respond to the old theologic test of being willing to be damned for the good of the cause.

Are we then to be driven from our position that the proper point of view from which to regard our civic obligations is that of Christian citizenship? Nay, verily. It is true that Chris-

* Mackenzie's "Ethics," page 157.

tianity emphasizes with an insistence known to no other system the loftiest ideal of personal excellence, but it is no less emphatic in stressing the social relation and the duties growing therefrom. Its command is, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." There is no antithesis in thought in this mandate; it does not even voice two separate and distinct obligations. The relation is rather that of part to the whole. We are to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's as part of the broader obligation of rendering unto God the things that are God's.

In other words, our civic obligations are a part, and an essential part, of that higher obligation resting upon every man of realizing his own loftiest ideal and of acting worthily of himself in whatever station of life he may be called to live. Then our civic obligations become moral obligations in a much fuller sense than ever entered into the heart of Greek or Roman under the old *régime.* To him they were obligations imposed from without; to us they are obligations from within, whose irresistible imperative comes from the very necessities of our moral natures. To him the state was a master imposing, under degrading penalties, all his civic duties; while upon us rests as the very seal of our citizenship the mandate, "Call no man master upon earth, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." The contrast is great, indeed. Under the ancient civilization, the state was everything, the individual nothing save as he contributed to the honor or the welfare of the state, while under the Christian civilization every hair in the lowliest head is numbered, for the glory of the state is inseparably connected with, aye, it consists in the glory of her sons. "Ye are the salt of the earth," said the divine founder of Christianity, an announcement intended to reverse completely the political poles of society. Henceforth the order was to be, not from the masses to the individual, but from the individual to the masses; not from the state to the citizen, but from the citizen to the state. It was an announcement requiring centuries for its full realization, but in which lay a potency destined, when fully understood, to overthrow the doctrine of the divine

right of kings, and exalt to his proper station the lowliest creature created in the image of God.

We should guard against the tendency to regard Christianity as a system imposed upon man from without. On the contrary, differing in this respect from every other, it has its origin in the very necessities of man's nature, and is in the highest degree philosophical. The seeming paradox "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall find it," is at once the keynote of Christian altruism, and the statement of a sound philosophic truth. Its discussion will throw light upon the origin of those civic obligations which it is our purpose to consider.

The duty most binding upon every rational being, called by most ethical writers, "the ultimate rule of right," is to realize as fully as possible in himself his most rational ideal. Now there are not a few of the most essential elements in this ideal self that cannot be realized by any individual apart from society. In every sense the fact remains true that it is not good for man that he be left alone.

The social state is a necessity of man's being. Aristotle said (Part II., 11, 14): "He who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god." A recent ethical writer, after quoting this sentiment, explains it as follows: "Every individual belongs to a social system. An isolated individual is even inconceivable; he must either have realized his ideal like a god, or have no ideal to realize like a beast. For our ideal self finds its embodiment in the life of a society, and it is only in this way that it is kept before us. Not only so, but even the realization of our ideal seems to demand a society, for to have a perfectly rational self would involve that our universe should have a perfectly rational content. Now the only possible universe with a perfectly rational content seems to be a universe of rational being. Hence we must go even beyond the saying of Aristotle and say that even a god must be social, even a god must have a rational universe in relation to himself, and must, consequently, create a world of rational beings.* It is not necessary for our

*Mackenzie, "Ethics," page 153.

present purpose to consider the author's view as to the limitations imposed upon Deity. Even should we be forced to reject it as anthropomorphic, we will at least agree with him as to finite beings that they are dependent upon one another for the full development of some of the most essential elements of character.

Mill says:

> The social state is at once so natural, so necessary, and so habitual to man that, except in some unusual circumstances, or by an effort of voluntary abstraction, he never conceives himself otherwise than as a member of a body, and this association is riveted more and more as mankind are further removed from the state of savage independence. Any condition, therefore, which is essential to a state of society becomes more and more an inseparable part of every person's conception of the state of things which he is born into, and which is the destiny of a human being.*

Christianity, so far from minifying the social relation, gives it a point and emphasis unknown to any other system. Aristotle, for example, while recognizing man as a "political [*i. e.*, social] animal," and laying stress upon the importance of the citizen's duties, still regarded civic virtue as merely the foundation of the higher life of speculative philosophy, while to the true altruist, whose philosophy has been learned in the school of Christ, there is no higher life than that which is to be found in the closest contact with the world. "Ye are members one of another." The "salt" must penetrate in order to "save," the light in order to illume. Society is not merely an aggregate of individuals, it is an organic unity, in which the parts are necessary to the perfection of the whole. "The eye cannot say unto the hand, 'I have no need of thee.'"

This analogy of the members to the body is not perfect, it is true, and if carried too far is misleading, suggesting that the members have no value or independent life apart from the body to which they belong, a thought savoring, as we have seen, of pagan, rather than of Christian, philosophy, but with the proper limitation it stands for one of the grandest truths that has ever challenged the attention of man—that he who would seek the highest realization of his own ideal life and

*"Utilitarianism," Chapter III., pages 46-47.

character apart from society is foredoomed to failure by a law of his own being. "He that findeth his life [*i. e.*, by seeking to restrict its influence to himself] shall lose it, and he that loseth his life [in the great sea of social duty] the same shall find it."

We are thus led to see that our civic obligations, which are but a part of our social obligations, viewed from the standpoint of Christian philosophy, are not obligations imposed upon us from without by the behest of some higher power, but rather obligations arising from within ourselves, growing out of the very necessities of our own rational being, self-imposed by the very law which asserts and requires us to maintain the dignity of our own manhood.

It is only in a government by the people that the full realization of this idea is possible. Under a government of force the truth remains dormant. The subjects of a despot obey because of the command and the penalty; the reasoning faculty, the sense of duty, the moral obligations to be obedient unto rulers, are rarely and put imperfectly appealed to. There is no thought of personal responsibility in the law or in the command, while under a government republican in form every individual has responsibility in every law, since law is but the outgrowth of a public sentiment, to which he has contributed his share.

If, then, we have succeeded in making our meaning clear, the reader will agree with us that Christian philosophy, rightly understood, invites us to take a most exalted and ennobling view of civic obligation. It tells us that it springs from an association which is essential to the fullest development of our own characters; that it appeals to us not as serfs, nor even as subjects, but as rulers and sovereigns in a higher and truer sense than was ever claimed by earthly monarch or witnessed by jeweled crown—the undisputed royalty of our individual manhood—a royalty intensified, rather than lessened, by a voluntary association, for our mutual advantage, under laws and rulers constituted by ourselves.

Having thus considered the origin of the obligations of citizenship, the next question seems to be, Who is a citizen? We answer in the words of the Constitution, "All persons

born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof." These are citizens both of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

I suspect that there are some who are in the habit of placing upon the term "citizen" a more restricted meaning than this: certain young men who are not wont to consider themselves "citizens," because of youth and inexperience; certain women who hold themselves exempt from the responsibilities of citizenship because they have not been charged with the special duty of suffrage. To all such I wish to say, if "born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," you are citizens, fully charged with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, both "of the United States and of the state wherein you reside." The tiniest infant, when he first opens his shrinking eyes upon the light of day anywhere within this great republic, is a citizen, just as much a citizen as the highest dignitary in the land. We are too apt to confound electors with citizens, and to look upon the duty of suffrage as expressing, if not the whole, at least the greater part of the duties of citizenship. It is essential to the proper comprehension of our civic duties that we rid our minds of this popular error. The duty of suffrage is but a single duty imposed by the entire mass of citizens upon certain individuals chosen by them from their own number—whether wisely or not we will not at this moment consider—but chosen because they are supposed to be especially qualified for the exercise of this important duty. We risk nothing in asserting that there never was a community in which the entire mass of citizens, regardless of all qualifications whatsoever, were allowed to vote. Always and everywhere some qualification has been imposed—either age, or sex, or education, or property—there has always been a restriction along some line to a selected class. Now we have to deal with the duties not of the selected but of the selecting class—if we speak of the other at all, it will be for the reason that they are a part of this greater whole—and we are glad that a proper analysis of our subject has placed this duty before us. We are glad to be able to say to those

who feel that they are exempt from responsibility because not charged with the special duty of suffrage that the real rulers of this country are not those who cast its ballots, but those who create that public sentiment which determines who shall cast them. If there are sovereigns who make our laws, then "twice-crowned" are they at whose behest the laws are made.

And this brings us to our third inquiry: What are the obligations of citizenship? We do not propose to weary the reader with a list of them, but rather to offer a few general principles bearing upon these obligations. In the first place, let it be noticed that these obligations are reciprocal. The organic unity which we call the state owes certain duties to the citizen. And the citizen, on the other hand, owes certain duties to the state. It is the latter alone which we will now consider.

We think our readers will agree with us in the assertion, especially in the light of our previous discussion, that the first duty which every citizen owes to the state relates to himself. Professor Davey has said: "It is a common remark that moral codes change from 'do not' to 'do,' and from this to 'be.'" The most imperative need of organized society, especially under a free government, is character, high moral standards accepted by the masses and wrought into the very bone and tissue of their lives. Gladstone has said: "The civilized world is asking, not what kind of a producer, but what kind of a man the American citizen of the future will become." It becomes the duty, therefore, of every citizen—a duty which appeals with especial emphasis to the young—not only from a personal but also from a purely civic standpoint to secure for himself the fullest possible development along all the lines of the most exalted conception of manhood. There is no possible way in which he can benefit the state so much as by making a real, true man of himself. Of course, we use the term "man" here in its generic sense, without distinction of sex.

What the state needs more than armies or navies, more than cities or mines of gold and silver, is high-toned, honorable, well-rounded citizens—men and women of exalted ideals and blameless lives, who will contribute to that public sentiment

which ever determines both the law and its enforcement by the irresistible strength of their own personalities. "These constitute the state." We say, therefore, to every young man and young woman, to every boy and girl, to every person, in fact, to whom this message does not come too late, that if they have not found in themselves a sufficient stimulus to growth and high development, the state calls upon them to secure it for her sake. She needs them, oh, how she needs them! At home, upon the street, in the school, the social circle, in the marts of trade or in stations which men deem more exalted—wherever the busy shuttles are flying in the looms on which is being woven that public opinion which is the imperial power in a republic, there she needs their contribution to the pure thought, the lofty sentiment, the noble aspiration which constitute the nation's life.

Again, we desire to consider this important quality in our civic obligations; that they are positive and not merely negative. It is not sufficient that the citizen should keep—that is, not break—the law. His duties are positive. He must impress his own personality upon society and make himself felt in the community and age in which he lives. The assertion of this obligation is rendered the more important from the retiring nature of those very qualities of which society stands most in need. It is not always those men who have the most self-assertion who contribute most to the general welfare. Many a man is willing for a consideration to serve his country, whose services the country could well dispense with. There is no scarcity of persons willing to hold office. What is needed is men and women, boys and girls, citizens, in short, who are willing to work up that public sentiment which will force the wrong men out of office and put the right men in. It is very seldom that a community is misrepresented in its legislative halls or in its elective offices. As a rule the person elected represents the average public sentiment of the masses who elect him. Elevate the moral tone of any community, increase the ardor of its patriotism, widen out its breadth of view, and you will find these increments expressing themselves in the quality of the men elected to represent that community.

As a step toward securing a healthy public sentiment, an uncompromising war should be waged against all popular sayings and maxims that tend to lower our moral standards and wrest the true relation between the citizen and the state. Let us illustrate our meaning:

That saying of Senator Marcy, "To the victors belong the spoils," has rightly been characterized by Mr. Fiske as "one of the most shameful remarks recorded in history." Mr. Marcy, in speaking before the United States Senate, in 1831, in defense of the course of President Jackson in removing a large number of his political opponents from office, had occasion to refer to the politicians of his own state. "They," said he, when contending for victory, "avow the intention of enjoying the fruits of it. They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." Now, the "shamefulness" of this remark consists mainly in its point of view, and the harm which it has done and is still doing is due largely to a confusion in the metaphor contained in it. If the offices and patronage of the government "belong" to any one, it is surely to the people as a whole and not to the defeated party referred to as "the enemy," from whom they are to be taken as "spoils" in this unholy war. And then for the character of the war itself, we are referred by this highly metaphorical expression way back beyond the days of civilized warfare to those barbarous times in which the property of the enemy was looked upon as "spoils," to be divided among the savage victors. The absurdity of drawing anything like an argument from such a comparison is sufficiently apparent, and yet it is not easy to compute the evil growing out of this mischievous statement, even at the present day. Prominent men use it as an indisputable maxim drawn from the gospel of politics; public journals of recognized standing and great influence quote it as axiomatic and unblushingly assert their adherence to it as a principle of action. It is accepted without question by the thoughtless "many" and crystallizes into conduct merely because the thinking few fail at times to challenge it. Its adoption as a rule of conduct long since passed the limits of the party in which it originated, and

upon it as a chief corner-stone has been raised that monstrous system of fraud and corruption known as the "spoils system." And yet all that is needed to rid the country of this great source of evil is a proper public sentiment. Much has, indeed, been done in this direction by the "civil service reform" movement, but much yet remains to be done, and even this movement depends for its efficiency upon that public sentiment which it is our duty as citizens to create and sustain.

Again, there is a popular feeling that is full of evil that the political life is not exactly real life, but a sort of theater, from which really good men had better absent themselves or perhaps a stage on which a very good man may and sometimes must play a very questionable part without loss either of character or of reputation. Public sentiment should render both misconceptions impossible. The latter is far the more subtle and dangerous. It is easy to understand why "men of the baser sort" would like to make a monopoly of the "spoils," but there is a speciousness akin to argument in the latter way of presenting the matter that makes it really dangerous. "Politics," they say, "is a trade which only those who have special aptitude for it should follow, a game in which only the most 'astute' (how naturally the word consorts with 'politician'!) can hope to win, and, as success is what we want, we had better turn the whole business over to them. At any rate, we had better not scrutinize their conduct too closely, for public men, you know, must do certain things which men who do not know all the circumstances are hardly qualified to sit in judgment upon, and then 'the end,' you know, 'will justify the means.'" We believe there are some people who think that this expression, "the end justifies the means," comes out of the Bible.

We need to have it distinctly understood that a man cannot be a good politician and a bad man at one and the same time; that men cannot steal elections without becoming thieves; that they cannot violate their oaths of office or of citizenship without becoming perjurers; that they cannot buy or sell votes or otherwise degrade the sacred trust imposed upon them by their fellow-citizens in charging them with the high duties of electors

under the law without becoming themselves political prostitutes and utterly degraded in the eyes of all good men. We need to get rid of all euphemistic expressions that tend to obscure the truth or put a gloss upon vice, and call things by their right names, whether they be good or whether they be evil. It is your high prerogative as citizens, oh, my readers, to create that public sentiment which, with a power like that of the cathode ray, will penetrate all the wrappings under which the skeleton evil seeks to hide itself, and show it to the world in all its hideous deformity.

Another of the obligations of citizenship, so general as to contain a host within itself, is that of cultivating the spirit of patriotism in ourselves and others. We do not mean that narrow sentiment more properly called provincialism that sometimes masquerades under the name of patriotism, but that broader sentiment worthy of the name which is based upon the minutest knowledge of details and a generous conception of their relations to each other. We have enough men now ready to get a post-office established at their own crossroads or a building erected in their own town at the expense of the public, regardless of the question whether or not such post-office or building is needed there; but there is still room in our halls of legislation, both national and state, for a few more men whose broad statesmanship will take in the wants of the entire country, and the lack is due, not to the inability to find the men, but to the want of that spirit of discriminating patriotism of which we are now speaking. It is even charged as a fault upon our public men that they reflect too closely the sentiment that dominates among their constituents. However this may be, the fact remains that the duty of creating this dominating sentiment and of keeping it active devolves upon you and upon me—upon all of us who come under the designation "citizens of the United States and of the state wherein we reside." There is much more danger in our failing to supply the sentiment than in our failing to secure proper representation.

Just here, if you will permit us for a moment to resume our

first point of view, we would like to say that we need this sentiment primarily for its effect upon ourselves. We are too apt to regard the cultivation of the feeling of love for country merely as a duty, as something which we owe to the state, entirely ignoring its subjective effect. In fact, do we not make this same mistake in regard to many of our very highest sentiments and convictions? We speak, for example, of one lacking in love for his parents as "unfilial" with scarce a thought of the great void in his own heart; we speak of one who has no hope beyond this present life as "irreligious" with a thought more of blame than of pity. And so, in like manner, we speak of "an unpatriotic person" as of one who is lacking in duty in that he is withholding from his country a sentiment which is its due, rather than of one in whom there is lacking one of the prime essentials of happiness and even of the fullest realization of his own loftiest ideals. For this is one of those qualities to which we referred above that a man cannot acquire by himself alone. "A man without a country" or, what amounts to the same thing, a man without an appreciative love for his country, lacks an essential element of true manhood. Filial love; conjugal love; parental love; love of home! How each brings out some new and latent quality in the heart and adds its increment to the development of the full, well-rounded character! And each of these contributes its choicest treasures to the furnishing of the heart for its supreme effort, next to love for God—that grandest expression of them all—the love for country. There is nothing in the entire catalogue of acquisitions to supply its place. It admits of no substitute. As well might you offer to the lungs a substitute for vital air, or to the alimentary organs a substitute for food. As well might you offer to a mother whose heart has once quickened with love for her first-born a substitute for her cooing, prattling babe, as seek to supply with other sentiment in the heart of man the love of country. He may have wealth like that of "Ormus and of Ind," his mind may be richly stored with knowledge, fame may have placed her choicest garlands upon his brow, honor may have laid her rarest treasures at his feet, but if his

heart has never responded with pride at his country's praise, or his pulses quickened with resentment at a slight put upon her fair name, despite all that wealth and fame and honor can bestow without the love of country in his heart, he is "wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked." He is like a plant reared in the dark, into whose growth the genial sunshine hath not entered; he is like a boy who has never known a mother's love or a father's tender care. There is something lacking in his make-up, an important something, without which as a center and a support, many another important virtue dies or shrinks into feeble growth.

But, to return to the point of view of the obligation to cultivate the sentiment of patriotism, we would say that this can be done in many ways, one of the most fruitful of which is in educating ourselves and those around us in the history of the town, the state, the country in which we live.

Patriotism begins at home and is based upon knowledge. Its fires are kindled upon the home altar. There is much to inspire the feeling in every locality that searching will bring to light. If the history of our own town or parish has never been written, we should either write it ourselves or get some one to write it who can do it better. Much good is already being done by societies of patriotic men and women, and by the observance of such days as "Arbor day" and "May day," and more can yet be done. We need to keep constantly before our own minds, and ever flashing before the public eye and ringing in the public ear, the fact that we have a country to be proud of, a public honor to maintain. This sentiment zealously cultivated will tend to exalt our standards and lift our people upon a higher plane.

Again, it is one of the obligations of citizenship, one of its most important obligations in fact, and the last of which we shall speak, to place the suffrage of the people upon an honest and intelligent basis. This, too, is the work of that proper public sentiment which it is our duty as citizens to maintain.

Our ideas need clearing upon this subject. We need to get rid of all such notions as that suffrage is a natural and inalien-

able right. Suffrage is the right only of electors, that is, as the term implies, of persons chosen for its exercise. The only general right in the premises is that the basis of qualification should be made uniform. It would be well for the country if we heard less about the "right" and more about the duty of suffrage.

It is not a personal, but purely a representative act, exercised even as now constituted by only about one fifth of the entire mass of citizens as representatives of them all. This very election, etc., raises the franchise above a mere question of privilege and places it upon the more exalted plane of duty. When called upon to vote, the elector has before him not a mere question of personal preference that he can waive at his pleasure or exercise in accordance with a fleeting whim of fancy, but a question of duty to the community, which he is under a strict moral obligation to perform in accordance with the best lights before him. Every elector should feel when he casts a ballot that he is under oath. He should feel that he is performing a solemn, we might almost say a religious act. His vote should be a votive offering placed before the shrine of liberty, a vow or pledge that he has given to the state without selfishness or fear of man, in the vote then cast the result of the best knowledge and judgment upon the issues involved, that he has or can secure. What a profanation is it then of the ballot to intrust its exercise to the ignorant and the profligate! Through its exercise the state seeks for an opinion either as to men or measures. What a mockery to ask such opinion of those incapable of forming one, or whose views at best merely reflect the opinions of others! To confer the right of suffrage upon a man merely because he is twenty-one years of age is as absurd as it would be to give it to him because he weighs a certain number of pounds or measures a certain number of inches in height. The proper restriction of the ballot to those qualified for its exercise, as the result of that enlightened public sentiment which it is our duty as citizens to create, would go very far toward securing the freedom and purity of elections by making them what they should ever be, an expression of the virtue and intelligence of the people.

WILMOT H. GOODALE.

WOMAN'S PART IN POLITICAL SINS.

BY FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH.

IN a number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS several months ago was an article with the above heading which calls for an answer. In it the writer utterly ignores the influence of the father in the home life both as to heredity and environment. As to which is the greater power, heredity or environment, it makes no difference in this discussion. Every child has a father and mother and in far too many homes the will of the former is supreme. How, then, is it possible that the mother's influence is all-powerful? Children inherit traits both good and bad from father as well as mother: then why place all responsibility of either heredity or environment upon the mother instead of sharing it with both parents?

Elizabeth Cady Stanton says, "Men must learn to respect her [woman] as an equal factor in civilization and she must learn to respect herself as mother of the race. Womanhood is the great primal fact of her existence; marriage and maternity, its incidents." This is true gospel. When we have noble, self-respecting women who are treated and considered by their husbands, sons, and brothers as equals then, and not till then, shall we have the right kind of mothers.

The writer of the article in question says, "These would be reformers constantly demand that woman be granted the ballot so that she may protect her home, not seeing that women who have failed to protect their homes without a ballot are not going to do so with one." Is it possible that she would hold the mothers of our legislators and not the legislators themselves responsible for the laws which forbid a married woman to own the clothes she wears; which will not allow a mother's right to her own children; which will sanction the ruin of a baby of seven years old because she "consents"? No; place the

responsibility for such infamous laws where it belongs but do not insult any mother in the country by saying that she would sanction such laws were she given a voice in making them.

Also do not hold her alone responsible for the training of her boys. As was said above, every child has two parents and the influence of the one is as likely to be a power for good or evil as that of the other. Not until men and women both realize the equality of the sexes, not until women are as free and independent as men can we have a race which is capable of bringing up children as they should be brought up. Rather, let us say, not until we have not only free men and women but those who will allow children to develop naturally can we have the right kind of results. Whole chapters might be written on the rights of children, but while in a general way this is germane to the subject in question, it is too large a field to be entered upon here.

One of the principal reasons why women are not free is that they are not financially independent. They are generally supported by some one else and are not equally able with men to earn their living should necessity compel them. The much-abused "new woman" is beginning to see that she will always be virtually a slave as long as such is her condition. Is it possible for a slave to have the best "influence" in the best training of children?

The writer is mistaken when she says that "her thought [the new woman's] is fixed on the superiority of women, on the inferiority of men" but is right in adding "and on the unjust laws which these inferior men have made." The "new woman" is working simply for equality of opportunity, equality in regard to laws, and with that will come greater respect of men for women and of women for themselves.

Even granting, for the sake of argument, that upon mothers rests all the responsibility for training the children, that they alone "control the stream" and then "complain of its quality or lament that it is impure when to her influence is confided the power of cleansing it"; what is to be done with the thousands of women who have no children? Are they to be left entirely

to the mercy of our male legislators who cannot possibly know how to legislate for women as well as women themselves could know? Our government is supposed to be a representative one, one in which every citizen is allowed to indirectly have a voice in making the laws. Yet half the adult population are not allowed any voice whatever in making laws which they must obey or suffer the same penalties men would suffer. They see hundreds of homeless girls who sell themselves in order to keep themselves and those dependent on them from starvation; they see little children dying in swarms in the slums of our large cities; they see all sorts of iniquities going on and all because of bad laws which they are powerless to change.

Can children be "trained" as was Rousseau's Emil away from all the influence of society? Is all the "training" a child receives given at home? No; the whole environment also has its influence and as long as mothers are treated as inferior beings the whole moral atmosphere must have a bad effect on children who spend many hours a day in schools where the teacher, if a woman, is paid half or three quarters the salary a man would have for doing the same work.

Again, "It is not votes, nor laws, nor lawmakers that the nations of the earth need most to-day. They need homes whose inmates shall be taught to reverence law. They need wise mothers in these average homes who shall have some knowledge of the work entrusted to their hands. Scan the death-rate for young children and you may be sure that the largest percentage is caused by the mother's ignorance of sanitary law." What the earth needs most is "homes whose inmates shall be taught from infancy to reverence" *justice*, which unfortunately is not always synonymous with law. The earth needs one standard of morality instead of two, one for men and another for women. What good would it do a woman to have any amount of knowledge of sanitary law if she is compelled to live with her husband and several children in one room, small, dark, and damp, and not only that but to be obliged to go out to work in order that these children may have bread, leaving them, from necessity, to care for themselves? She knows very well that such

surroundings mean, probably, moral or physical death to her little ones, yet she is powerless to help it. Would the writer hold these mothers responsible in such cases?

The doctrine most dangerous to growth in society is the let-well enough-alone doctrine which preaches "peace, peace when there is no peace." Stagnation is the one thing to be guarded against. The "new woman" *is* trying to "help her less favored sisters in the grave duties which are inherently theirs," and one of these duties is to give them more freedom to grow into well-rounded women.

Women are perhaps no better than men and would probably be "bought," Mr. Howells to the contrary notwithstanding. But as long as social conditions are what they are we must not hope to do away with bribery. There are other kinds of buying and selling besides those with money. While women are so helpless, so dependent upon others for support they will marry for a home. Is this not the worst kind of bribery? But once make women independent, make them able to support themselves and all kinds of bribery will cease.

The "leader of this movement," who said "Women must rally for the time to whatever party will give this important measure justice" was right if it seemed to her that the enfranchisement of women was the first great measure to be gained. Is a desire for justice a "hobby"? Would the writer not be going against her conscience if she did not work for what seemed to her the most needed reform? Entirely aside from the rights of the case, these "new women" truly believe that the crying evil of the day is the virtual slavery of women in general; they must therefore, if they would be true to themselves, work to change this, and it can come only through the ballot. Then why call it "bribery" when they use the only means to gain their end?

To some of us the woman question is but a part of that greater one, how to secure freedom for all, both men and women; not only political but industrial freedom. While men and women toil as many do to-day, for barely enough to live, while the average wages for men is less than five hundred dollars a year and that

for women much less, and there are always even in "good times" a million men in our country unable to find employment, we must not expect purity in politics or ideal mothers any more than ideal fathers. The first step to be taken is to make it possible for every one, man or woman, to earn a good living, simply by removing all restrictions to labor and restoring to all their God given right to the use of the earth. When this is done women will not marry for a home and we shall have not only mothers who are first free, self respecting women but fathers who are first free, self-respecting men. The one is just as necessary as the other for the future regeneration of society.

FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

NOTES CONCERNING MEMBERS.—The councilors and friends of the A. I. C., and hosts of good citizens everywhere, have shared in the sorrow occasioned by the recent death of two of the Institute's most interested trustees, Dr. George Brown Goode and Dr. J. M. Toner, both of Washington. Men of high abilities and exemplars in all that constitutes the noblest citizenship, their loss will be keenly felt by all of their co-laborers. Dr. Goode was born in New England, Ind., on February 13, 1851; was graduated at Wesleyan University in 1870, and in 1871 was placed in charge of the college museum. He came to Washington in 1873, as one of the staff of the Smithsonian Institution. His abilities were so much appreciated that he was appointed United States Commissioner to the International Fishery Exhibition held in Berlin in 1880, and in London in 1883.

He was also a member of the government executive board for the New Orleans, Cincinnati, and Louisville Expositions in 1884. The State Department had his services in 1877 as statistical expert in connection with the Halifax Fisheries Commission. He represented the Smithsonian Institution at the Columbian Exposition, and was a member of the board of awards at the Cotton States International Exposition at Atlanta last year. He was prominent in the membership of the S. A. R., and had been for several years a trustee of the A. I. C. He died of pneumonia September 6.

Dr. Toner was for many years one of the most prominent and highly esteemed residents of Washington. Those admitted to his intimate acquaintance cherished for him an ardent affection, such was the generous, kindly, and winning character of the man. His name will be remembered in connection with his munificent gift to the nation of his collection of Washington papers, correspondence, and other literary remains of the Father of his Country. This accumulation of an ardent and tireless collector now reposes in an inaccessible recess of the Congressional Library; but when that institution is removed to its spacious and ornate quarters opposite the Capitol, the Toner contribution will be adequately displayed. *Harper's Weekly* suggests that

the mass of Washington relics which the visitor encounters *everywhere* be gathered into an intelligible group in the new Library Building, although to this latter proposition there is the natural objection to diverting the purpose of this structure to that of a museum. The State Department has a large collection of Washington's personal and official papers; the War Department treasures some of his army returns; the National Museum exhibits its many articles used by Washington, including family plate and ware; Mount Vernon harbors much material, more or less legitimately connected with the Washington homestead, while all over the country are relics credited to Washington's ownership or use. Perhaps Mount Vernon would be as good a place as any for the exhibit of personal belongings, "but," says the *Weekly*, "the new Library would better contain all the documents of the first president, and Dr. Toner's gift is a suitable nucleus of such a general collection."

The carrying out of such a suggestion as the above, in connection with his name, would be a fitting tribute to Dr. Toner as a noble citizen.

. . . .

CENTENARY OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL.

IN ST. PAUL, MINN., the chairman of the Institute's local committee, Edwin S. Chittenden, secured the coöperation of the local society of the S. A. R., and provisions were made for an admirable address before the twelve hundred pupils of the high school by Hon. S. J. R. McMillan, and for the distribution of copies of a published address relating to the life and character of Washington, by Dr. Egbert. In addition to this, arrangements were made for a meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution, held at the Dayton Avenue Presbyterian Church, where Rev. M. D. Edwards, D.D., delivered an eloquent address. The addresses above referred to were published in full in the *Pioneer Press.*

. . . .

IN SAGINAW, MICH., Hon. W. L. Webber, the Institute's local chairman, presented its proposals to the board of trade, which immediately appointed a committee of its members to arrange for a proper observance of the Centenary. The committee included Mr. Webber, chairman, Col. A. T. Bliss, Hon. W. B. Baum, Hon. Benton Hanchett, L. C. Slade, president, E. M. Hopkins, secretary, of the board of trade.

The committee ordered from the Institute one thousand copies of its Centenary edition of the Farewell Address, which were distributed in the high schools September 18. On the same day suitable addresses were delivered before the pupils in all the schools. On Sunday evening, September 20, public exercises were held before a crowded audience in the Academy of Music, concerning which we quote from the *Saginaw Globe* as follows:

"It was a patriotic audience that thus honored the memory of the

great American statesman, and the exercises by their very nature were such as to give to many new thoughts in the line of the country's history over one hundred years ago, to throw new light on the different phases of the situation at that time, and convey an idea of the majestic greatness and the wisdom of Washington, as set forth in his address.

"The exercises were opened with song, followed by the invocation by Rev. G. W. Jennings. President L. C. Slade, of the board of trade, introduced Hon. William L. Webber, who read a paper on 'The Conditions Existing at the Time of Washington's Address.' In opening his remarks Mr. Webber spoke of the American Institute of Civics, to whose efforts is due in a great degree the observance of this and many other events of a patriotic nature, outlining its objects from an educative standpoint, and mentioning a number of America's great men who were identified with it. He then briefly recalled the events of the opening of the Revolutionary War and pointed to the main features of the address, of which up to this time so little has been popularly known.

"After the singing of 'The Star Spangled Banner,' Secretary E. M. Hopkins, of the board of trade, spoke on the subject, 'This Government of Ours.' He mentioned true, sincere, unstinted, and united patriotism as the stronghold with which to fortify it and foster its principles.

"Rev. J. R. Tewell, pastor of the Warren Avenue Presbyterian Church, pointed out some 'Essentials to Good Citizenship.' Of the three essentials the first is patriotism, loyalty, and the sacrifice of private for general interests. 'My Country, Right or Wrong,' he upheld as the motto of all mottoes, not that he wished to foster any wrongs on the part of our country, but that if she was wrong, it is every American's duty to help her up and if she is right it is his duty to help her on. He placed as a second essential to good citizenship an enlightened mind, and as a third, good character.

"'National Unity' was the subject of a paper by Professor E. C. Thompson.

"Rev. George Washington Jennings spoke upon 'Religion and Morals as Essentials to Good Government.'"

. . . .

IN ST. JOSEPH, MO., Capt. Lucien E. Carter, chairman of the Institute's local committee, secured the appointment of a citizens' committee consisting of J. C. Wyatt, president, E. L. Marney, Joshua Motter, Thomas W. Evans, James H. McCord, John I. McDonald, Edward C. Smith, Lucien E. Carter, executive committee, which arranged for a meeting on the evening of September 17, in the Tootle Theater, which was crowded. The *Daily Gazette* and the *Daily Herald* each devoted an entire page to reports of the exceptionally interesting exercises, which were interspersed with singing, and ended with specially prepared stereopticon views illustrating the career of Washington. Among the speakers were Rev. John H. Hopkins, Dr. W. J. Bell on "The Hopes of Washington"; C. A. Mossman on "The

National Union" ; H. M. Tootle on "The Patriot" ; Lucien E. Carter on "The Partisan Evil" ; Rev. H. M. Goode on "Religion and Morality" ; Prof. C. E. Miller on "The Diffusion of Knowledge" ; and C. B. Edgar on "The Public Credit." The theater was elaborately and beautifully decorated for the occasion. Mr. C. J. Wyatt was the efficient chairman of the meeting. Seldom has a public meeting been held in St. Louis which aroused greater popular interest, or was calculated to result more beneficially.

. . . .

IN PHILADELPHIA, under arrangements made by Superintendent of Public Schools Dr. Edward Brooks, of the Institute's Board of Officers, exercises, suitable to the occasion, were held in all of the public schools on Friday, September 18.

The exercises consisted of readings from the address, the explanation of the circumstances under which it was made, with such incidents in the career of Washington, or facts in respect to his services to his country, as were considered of interest to the pupils. In the lower grades simple events in the life of Washington, "the Father of his Country," were made interesting to the children. The exercises in all grades were accompanied by the singing of patriotic songs. The day was designated as "Washington's Farewell Day."

The *Philadelphia Times* assisted in giving success to the exercises by publishing in advance a "broadside" devoted to historical matter and incidents relating to the address and the times in which it was written, giving also an excellent large-size portrait of Washington, with a picture of the candlestick used in Washington's library when it was written. We quote from the *Times* as follows:

"The address has often been printed with the date of 17 September, 1796, and special interest has been expressed in the coincidence of the date of the address with the date of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. One authority claims, however, that, as a matter of fact, the address bears date 19 September, 1796, as may be seen in the autograph original now in the Lenox Library, New York. James Lenox, it is said, purchased the original from the family of the printer, Claypoole, by whom it was published in the *American Daily Advertiser*, in Philadelphia, and to whom the manuscript, wholly in Washington's handwriting, with all its interlineations, corrections, and erasures, was given by Washington himself.

"The boys and girls of the public schools will be interested in knowing how Washington looked about the time he wrote his farewell address. A historian tells us that 'Washington had the habit of making speeches on the opening of Congress, instead of sending messages, as presidents do now. He had the Virginia love of fine horses and equipages. He drove to Congress in a cream-colored coach, which was decorated with cupids holding festoons of flowers, and was drawn by six bay horses. He was preceded by two gentlemen bearing wands, who kept back the crowd when the president alighted. A little boy who was in the crowd on such an occasion afterward told how Wash-

ington was dressed. His powdered hair had been gathered into a black silk bag ornamented with a large rosette of black ribbons, and he wore a black velvet suit, diamond knee buckles, square silver shoe-buckles, black silk stockings, japanned shoes, a ruffled shirt, a cocked hat, and his dress sword. The boy glided into the hall of Congress almost under the skirts of Washington's coat, but he would as soon have thought of touching an electric battery as touching the great man. He climbed upon one of the two cast-iron stoves which stood near the door. Once there, his eyes were fastened upon the Spanish ambassador, who wore a splendid diplomatic dress, decorated with orders, and carried under his arm an immense hat edged with white ostrich feathers.'

"On the 4th of March following, Washington was present at the inauguration of his successor, John Adams. An eye witness said that Washington, dressed in black velvet, with a military hat and black cockade, was the central figure in the scene. He was prevailed upon to make an address, and while he was speaking Adams covered his face with both his hands and the tears were seen to wet his coat sleeves. The audience wept and tears ran down Washington's face as he sat down. When the retiring president went out there was such a rush to see him that dignified men are said to have escaped from the crowd only by sliding down the pillars of the hall."

. . . .

REPORTS of intending exercises also come from Vineland, N. J., through Rev. Adolph Roeder, from Glen Cove, N. Y., through Rev. R. Mac Questen. The Institute is advised that its local members provided for observances in many other places, the particulars of which have not been furnished.

. . . .

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

MISSOURI: *St. Louis.*—The Civic Federation has published its articles of incorporation and an outline of its plans in pamphlet form, and they afford an excellent model for similar associations of citizens in other places. Charles Cobaum is president, L. S. Richardson secretary, and W. Palmer Clarkson treasurer.

. . . .

MASSACHUSETTS: *Brookline.*—Mr. John J. Cantwell has recently delivered excellent public addresses upon "Citizenship," which have been highly commended because of his impartial and able presentation of the fundamental truths which underlie right civic action.

. . . .

CALIFORNIA: *San Francisco.*—The Civic Federation is taking an unusually active part in the pending municipal elections, and looks confidently to results which fully reward the unselfish labors of its members. C. B. Perkins is the present secretary, and its special committee on present city affairs consists, besides Mr. Perkins, of D. Gilbert Dexter, George T. Gaden, Richard Lambert, W. F. Harris, and R. L. Rigdon.

INDIANA: *Bloomington.*—The temperance people and members of the Good Citizens' League have decided to renew the fight against the granting of retail licenses to the saloon men who are now applying to the county board. The law directs that to defeat an applicant there must be a remonstrance signed by a majority of the legal voters of the ward in which the applicant desires to sell liquor, and filed with the auditor of the county three days prior to the meeting of the board of commissioners.

. . . .

NEW JERSEY: *Hanover.*—A mass-meeting was held September 7 to perfect the organization of a Good Citizenship League. There were patriotic songs, and the Whippany brass band assisted. Addresses were made by A. W. Cutler, the Rev. S. Z. Batten, and State Senator John V. Vreeland of Morristown, and Arthur W. Milbury, secretary of the Industrial Christian Alliance of New York. The Whiponong Hall Association has already become a power for good in Hanover township, notably in the movement for good roads. It has provided a spacious and most attractive hall for public gatherings of all kinds, together with a fine circulating library and well-equipped reading and games rooms. It is intended, also, to organize something in the nature of a Sunday Institute of Civics, with afternoon meetings to be devoted to the gospel of good citizenship. The hall is a social, political, and educational center. J. H. Polhemus is president of the association, R. B. McEwen vice-president, W. W. Cook treasurer, and Henry C. Raynolds secretary.

. . . .

ALABAMA: *Mobile.*—John D. Yerby, superintendent of schools, in his annual report emphasizes the necessity and the benefits of school instruction in civics in the following words: "The great benefits to follow instruction in school are not those derived entirely from learning lessons in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic, and the other branches in the course of study, but in moral training, in the recognition of the rights of others, in forming habits of right conduct, in gaining higher standards of right action. One of the greatest lessons that teachers are trying to impress is that all labor is honorable, and that fidelity to trust and a proper regard for the rights and feelings of others are necessary to good citizenship."

. . . .

NEW YORK: *Brooklyn.*—A new Patriotic Juvenile Society, in affiliation with the American Institute of Civics, has been organized by Principal William S. Mills, A. I. C., among the children of School 75, under the name of the "League of the Red, White, and Blue." "The design and purpose of the League," said Professor Mills, as reported in the *New York Times*, "is to impart a knowledge of true citizenship." Any student is eligible to membership who stands well in his studies and has written from memory in the presence of a teacher the following poems: "America," "The Star-Spangled Banner," "The Flower of Liberty," "The Red, White, and Blue,"

"Hail Columbia," and "The American Flag." The pledge of the League is: "I pledge allegiance to my flag and the republic for which it stands; one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The *Times* refers to one of the League's meetings as follows: "'Three cheers for the Red, White, and Blue!' How the room rang with the children's voices! Celt, Saxon, and Swede; Italian, German, and Polish; big and little girls and boys—their eyes sparkling with eager interest and their youthful voices ringing out with a thrilling note of enthusiasm.

"The principal of the school is president of the League and regent of Washington Chapter, which is the title of this first chapter. The teachers who have helped candidates to qualify for admission to the League have been made vice-regents. They are Miss M. H. McCabe, Miss H. A. Sullivan, Miss A. E. Hart, Miss L. M. Gaskill, Miss A. M. Walsh, Miss Elise Winters, Miss L. E. P. Atkinson, and Miss C. J. Coles."

One hundred and twenty-seven pupils were awarded diplomas in the last school year.

Mr. Mills, says the *Times*, is one of Brooklyn's most progressive educators and an enthusiast in his work. The establishment of the League at his own expense and at personal sacrifice of time and effort is only one of several movements he has instituted for the benefit of the pupils under his care.

. . . .

VERMONT: *Rutland.*—The *Times* has a department devoted to communications relating to affairs of public interest, to which Charles P. Harris, A. I. C., contributes valuable letters. He seeks, among other things, to interest his fellow-citizens in the provision of useful reading matter for the benefit of those to whom it is now for any reason inaccessible. He rightly believes that this will be an efficient means of promoting better citizenship. The success of his efforts has been exceedingly encouraging, and suggests an opportunity for useful work within the reach of the patriotic and unselfish in other towns and villages throughout the country.

. . . .

RHODE ISLAND: *Providence.*—A dinner given by the Municipal League, attended by 175 members, was held October 10. The principal address of the evening, described by the *Providence Journal* as "a splendid speech," was given by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia, of the A. I. C. Corps of Lecturers and secretary of the National Municipal League. Hon. Thomas W. Bickwell, A. I. C., is secretary of the league.

. . . .

PENNSYLVANIA: *Philadelphia.*—The Civic Club has started a movement looking toward the improvement of the lower grade tenements of the City of Brotherly Love. The club has formed a benevolent society known as the Octavia Hill Association, named after Miss

Octavia Hill, of London, who did so much good work in her own city. Its plan is to purchase the worst property in the city, and either rebuild or reconstruct so as to comply with all the requirements of modern sanitary science.

. . . :

AN HONEST AND DISGUSTED LEGISLATOR.—Hon. Lewis Kaiser, of Bushnell, Ill., who represented the Nauvoo district in the legislature two terms, told the editor of the Lewistown *Democrat* the other day: "I do not like the legislature. I do not drink whiskey, can't play draw poker, can't tell a story, and am not in it a little bit with the boys. Then the legislature meets at ten and adjourns at eleven; meets at two and quits at four. We leave Springfield Thursday and get back Tuesday. An honest member feels like a deadbeat and hates to face honest men who know he is drawing five dollars a day and doing almost nothing to earn it. If any one wants to know how rotten Illinois politics is he ought to go to Springfield and stay three days or a week, and he will be disgusted to the end of time. If the people knew what the conduct of the average legislator is they would surely be up in arms about it." Mr. Kaiser closed the subject by saying, "I don't want any such job again."

. . . .

THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.—The committees of the National Municipal League have just been announced. The list, which includes the names of prominent men in nearly every city of the United States, is as follows:

Executive Committee—Charles J. Bonaparte, chairman, Baltimore; Matthew Hale, Albany; William G. Low, New York; Joseph A. Miller, Providence; Dudley Tibbitts, Troy; George W. Ochs, Chattanooga; A. L. Crocker, Minneapolis; E. J. Baldin, Cleveland; Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia; Dr. S. M. Newman, Washington; Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville; James C. Carter, New York; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Samuel B. Capen, Boston; Thomas N. Strang, Portland, Ore.; Dr. H. Dickson Burns, New Orleans; Dr. Edmund J. James, Chicago; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia; George Barnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

Publication Committee—Clinton Rogers Woodruff, chairman, Philadelphia; George G. Moyer, Philadelphia; Rev. Charles F. Dole, Jamaica Plains, Boston; C. A. Haviland, Brooklyn; James Neilson, New Brunswick, N. J.; J. Alpheus Van Sandt, Camden; Henry P. Goddard, Baltimore; Edwin Z. Smith, Pittsburg; Franklin Mac Veagh, Chicago; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia.

Finance Committee—George Burnham, Jr., chairman, Philadelphia; William G. Low, New York; J. W. A. Cluett, Troy; A. L. Crocker, Minneapolis; Gustav H. Schwab, New York; John A. Butler, Milwaukee; Joseph A. Miller, Providence; Joseph T. Alling, Rochester; Henry W. Williams, Baltimore; W. Harris Roome, New York; Grange Sard, Albany; Dudley Tibbitts, Troy.

Committee on Law—Lewis D. Brandis, chairman, Boston; Horace E. Deming, New York; Matthew Hale, Albany; Joshua Stark, Milwaukee; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; Moorfield Story, Boston; James Barr Ames, Cambridge, Mass.

Committee on Grievances and Abuses—Walter B. Spencer, chairman, New Orleans; Charles Morris Howard, Baltimore; E. E. Rumsey, Pittsburg; F. W. Schultz, Baltimore; Merritt Starr, Chicago; Frank M. Loomis, Buffalo; Arthur Dasher, Macon, Ga.; Gregory J. Powell, Omaha; Montgomery G. Curtis, Troy.

. . . .

CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS.—The National Civil Service Reform League will hold its annual meeting in this city December 10 and 11. The presence of the National League in this city will no doubt to a certain extent awaken popular interest in civil service reform and incidentally favorably affect the effort to establish the merit system in Pennsylvania, to which end a bill will be urged at Harrisburg during the coming winter.—*Philadelphia Times.*

. . . .

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.—It is announced that, commencing with January 1, 1897, the city of Glasgow, Scotland, will cease to levy taxes of any kind whatsoever upon its residents. The city authorities have ascertained that from that date the entire expenses of the city for the future can be borne by the incomes which will be received from the public works owned by the city. Among the latter are water works, gas and electric light plants, street railroads, sewage farms, and other institutions of lesser magnitude, all of which are paying large profits annually to the city treasury.

. . . .

MISCELLANEOUS. MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD has issued a circular announcing the twenty-third annual convention of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to be held in St. Louis, November 13-18. The circular announces an unusually interesting program, and closes with the words:

"The enemy are certainly more than we, the horses and chariots are not a few, the hosts of evil seem mightier than ever before; and yet we, although a little army, are not afraid, since the Lord God who called us into being is with us to-day leading on to greater and still greater victories. In his name and in his strength may we come up to our twenty-third annual convention, and may that glory, which consists alone in the highest good of his creatures, be ascribed to our God forever, because we shall have met 'in his name.'"

. . . .

CIVIL SOCIALISM.—The advance of the socialistic principle, says the *Montreal Gazette*, in public administration is as marked almost as it is silent. Not very long ago the carriage and distribution of letters was almost the only service the state did for the people. In England the telegraph has been added to the post-office, and a decided step taken toward bringing the educational machinery of the country under com-

plete governmental control. It is under such control practically throughout America. It is in municipalities, however, that the greatest advances have been made, and in some British cities, the water and gas, baths and libraries, and hospitals are all under municipal direction, and are all embodiments of the socialistic idea, which, briefly put, calls on the public to do for the individual what it can do better for him than the average individual can do for himself. The recent heated spell in New York led to some novel applications of the principle. The suffering of the people in the poorer districts was most severe; sickness increased and the death rate went up. The city authorities felt called upon to act. The parks were opened for the people to sleep in at night; the streets were flushed with water to cool the atmosphere; free ice was distributed by the ton where it was deemed necessary for the comfort of the sufferers; medical men were on duty at the city's expense to attend to sudden emergencies. All of which will be generally commended as proper; but all of which is an invasion of the realm of individualism and an advance of the theories of the socialist, who is a very different character, it is to be remembered, from the anarchist. What was done at the time of the last heated spell, with additions, will be expected when next the city suffers from a like visitation, and what last month attracted attention by its novelty will henceforth be the rule. So it will be seen that the collectivist has time working for him, and, in cases such as New York's, for humanity also. The English statesman who declared that we are all socialists was speaking by the record.

. . . .

RECLAMATION OF CRIMINALS.—Commenting on a recent article in THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, the *Troy Press* says:

"The subject of reclaiming the criminal population of the country has become one of the most serious and important problems of the day in the sociological world. At the recent session of the National Prison Congress in Milwaukee one of the leading criminologists of this country, Dr. Frederick Wines, made a strong argument in opposition to the theory that the punishment of prisoners must be severe to be effective. He argued from the viewpoint of a humanitarian as well as disciplinarian, maintaining that a man sentenced to prison for offending against the law cannot be saved by force, but that he can be ruled by love. Right in line with the suggestions of Dr. Wines comes the new work of the great evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, who proposes to devote a part of his energies in the future to the reclamation of criminals. While the suggestions made by Dr. Wines refer particularly to the criminal who is still in custody, and the efforts of Dr. Moody will be confined to those who have been discharged from prisons, the principles that actuate them are the same. The field for religious and philanthropic effort is a large and fruitful one, of that there is no doubt.

"While the reforms proposed by this writer may be brought about by state legislation, it will require a radical change in public sentiment in reference to the attitude which society takes toward discharged

criminals who give evidence of a desire to reform, before any remedy of the conditions referred to is to be expected. So long as all discharged prisoners are shunned and ostracised by people who call themselves Christians, those who are now offering their services for the reclamation of criminals will find that they have a most serious, probably fatal, drawback with which to contend."

. . . .

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN ON WASHINGTON.—At the popular meeting held in Chickering Hall, New York, September 19, under the auspices of the New York members of the the American Institute of Civics, in celebration of the centenary of the issue of Washington's Farewell Address, the following letter from the British colonial secretary, then in this country, was read:

THE FARM, DANVERS CENTER, MASS.,
September 14, 1896.

H. R. Waite, President American Institute of Civics:

DEAR SIR—I have received with the greatest pleasure your cordial invitation to be present at the centenary observance of the issue of Washington's memorable address to the American people. I very much regret that my engagements make it impossible for me to be present in person on so interesting an occasion. The admiration felt for General Washington in the mother country can hardly be exceeded in his native land, and, although we are unable to claim him as an Englishman, we are proud to believe that he represents all that is best and noblest in the Anglo-Saxon race, to which you and we alike belong.

. . . .

ECONOMICS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.—"Good government in the municipal aspect," says the *Philadelphia Record*, "has more than a moral side as reflecting the honesty and capacity of those who govern—it has an economic side as well, which seeks the general good by the minimization of waste and the profitable utilization of material ordinarily classed as refuse. How large a field awaits attention in this direction in the United States may be gathered from certain movements now in progress in various parts of England. At Shoreditch and other places, for example, works are now being constructed to combine the burning of dust and street refuse with the generation of electricity and the heating of water for public baths.

"Again, we are told that in Plymouth a scheme is now being considered for attaching to a dust destructor not only a center for the generation of electricity, but a station for the application of the current to the tramway service. These enterprises are, of course, experimental; they may not prove feasible either commercially or otherwise. Nevertheless, every such movement, whatever the measure of success attending it, is a reminder that there remains to be developed along with the other sciences that hold a relation especially to the municipality the economics of good government; and such a science will surely find

awaiting it as broadly inviting a field in this country as in any other country upon earth."

The editors of this magazine may be permitted to suggest that there is already being "developed along with the other sciences" one which includes "the economics of good government," to wit: the "science of civics."

. . . .

WOMEN'S CLUBS.—Among women's clubs whose course of studies for the coming year includes civics, are The Outlook Club, of Maquoketa, Ia., Columbian Club, Groton, N. Y., Social Science Club, Champaign, Ill., Fortnightly Club, Urbana, Ill., Friends in Council, Quincy, Ill., Women's Club, Freeport, Ill., Civitas, Brooklyn, N. Y.

. . . .

SUFFRAGE QUALIFICATIONS.—About a year ago, it will be remembered, Judge Scott made a rule in his court that applicants for naturalization must be able not only to understand the English language with some degree of proficiency, but that they also must show that they had read the Constitution of the United States with a fair understanding of its terms. About the same time Judge Pryor laid down substantially the same rules for his court. Both decisions called down an avalanche of abuse from newspapers and politicians of a certain well-known class, but the decisions in both cases stand, nevertheless.

In considering whether this condemnation and contumely are warranted it is well to read the statute first:

"It shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the court admitting such alien, that he has resided within the United States five years at least, and within the state or territory where such court is at the time held, one year at least; that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character; attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same."

Furthermore, at the time of his admission to citizenship the applicant must declare on oath that "he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject." This is the highest law on the subject. In discussing the decisions referred to, Mr. True (in the May issue of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS) argues:

"We have stated in the provisions of the statute that we want no citizens who are not of good moral character, who are not attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and who are not well disposed to the good order and happiness of the people. The question is, How are the courts to be satisfied that the applicants have the qualifications for citizenship prescribed by statute? A man presents himself before the court and asks to be invested with citizenship. He cannot read or speak the language in which the laws are printed and administered, in which business is done—the language which nearly all the citizens of the nation speak. By his application

for naturalization he announces that he has lived in the United States during the five years last passed, and thereby confesses that he has not been attached to the principles of the Constitution sufficiently to be induced to read it, and that he is not sufficiently well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States or of its people to take the trouble to learn the language of those whom he desires to claim as fellow-citizens.

"Are the two judges named above quixotic when they decide that an applicant for conferred citizenship, who cannot speak the language of the country, who has not read the Constitution of the United States, fails to furnish satisfactory proof of an attachment to the Constitution and of a satisfactory disposition of the good order and happiness of the nation?"

This, says the *Troy Press*, seems to be a common sense interpretation of the statute. It says that an applicant must show that he is "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States." How can he be attached to these principles if he has never read the Constitution "with a fair understanding of its terms"? In their interpretation of the law these two judges have followed instructions that are so plain they cannot be misinterpreted by any person who is able to comprehend ordinary English. We do not see how any judge can properly rule differently.

. . . .

DECLINE OF STATESMANSHIP.—The world is growing wiser every day, and the wonderful achievements of science which mark the last quarter of the present century would have been beyond the grasp of the human mind of one hundred years ago. Through the agency of steam and electricity space and distance count for nothing, and the entire world is in daily communication. News of a battle in the Orient or an earthquake in South America is flashed around the globe in a few minutes, and full details are in the daily newspapers all over the face of the earth within a few hours after the occurrence, whatever it may have been.

But with the march of progress in the development of art and science the human intellect does not seem to have kept pace in other respects. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when congressmen journeyed to Washington in their own private conveyances, occupying perhaps weeks or months on the road, the halls of the national legislature resounded with an eloquence and patriotism whose very echoes seem to have died away for good and all. Where are the Randolphs, Clays, Websters, and Calhouns of the present day? When will their peers raise voice in championship of the rights of the people? The American Congress is now composed of over four hundred senators and representatives—men elected to fill the highest civil offices within the gift of seventy millions of people; men chosen to make laws for the greatest nation the world has ever known.

Yet for nearly six months these four hundred and odd men have remained at the capital city, and beyond drawing their salaries with

punctilious and unfailing regularity, they have done little for their country and people. The old-time honor and dignity of the statesman seem to have given place to a greed for wealth and power, obtained at no matter what cost, and propositions which sixty years ago would have been replied to by a challenge to mortal combat may now be made with impunity to many of these lawmakers, who prostitute their office to personal gain.

The days of high and pure statesmanship seem to have passed from us. Patriotism is now a purchasable commodity, while the once sacred halls of the national congress have become the arena for the exercise of political trickery, and are resonant with personal vituperation and abuse.—*Florida Times-Union.*

. . . .

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF STRIKES.—Seven or eight years ago the federal bureau of labor statistics published a record of strikes which had taken place in the United States in the years 1881-6 inclusive. That record showed a great increase in such industrial disturbances, culminating in the year 1886 with the strike riots at Chicago which resulted in the Haymarket massacre. The commissioner of labor has just issued a supplementary report, bringing the record down to 1894. The figures are of interest, and we accordingly present the more important totals from the whole series of years:

	Strikes.	*Establishments.*	*No. thrown out of work.*	*Per cent which failed.*
1881	471	2,928	129,521	31.63
1882	454	2,105	154,671	38.24
1883	478	2,759	149,763	25.74
1884	443	2,367	147,054	44.61
1885	645	2,284	242,705	37.70
1886	1,432	10,053	508,044	46.58
1887	1,436	6,589	379,676	47.17
1888	906	3,506	147,704	42.30
1889	1,075	3,786	249,559	34.60
1890	1,833	9,424	351,944	37.34
1891	1,717	8,116	298,939	53.83
1892	1,298	5,540	206,671	51.99
1893	1,305	4,555	265,914	38.79
1894 (6 months)	896	5,154	482,066	60.51

It will be observed that after 1886 strikes, taking the number of establishments involved, decreased in prevalence until 1890, when there was a sudden increase to almost the extent of 1886 over 1885, and another decline followed by the widespread disturbances of 1894 which culminated, as in 1886, in the Chicago railway riots. The two years of 1886 and 1894 stand out above all the others, both in the number of establishments involved and the number of workmen thrown out of employment; but the causes were different. The former year witnessed a revival of business activity from the depression of 1884 and the strikes were generally for increase in wages. In 1894, however, we had very hard times and strikes against wage reductions.

But the most instructive and significant figures of the table are those exhibiting the proportion of establishments involved in which

the strikes failed altogether. There is a gain on the whole in the percentage of failures which is too marked to escape notice. During the earlier part of the period represented about two thirds of the strikes as respects establishments involved wholly or partially succeeded. But more recently the proportion has declined, until in the last four years the failures have exceeded on the average the whole and partial successes. As a weapon against capital, therefore, the strike is losing its force. Labor has been unable to keep pace with capital in forming powerful combinations. United labor, it is demonstrated, cannot equal in power united capital, and labor seems to be realizing the fact. Evidences are not wanting that labor is beginning to lay more stress upon political action than upon mere unionism.—*Springfield Republican.*

. . . .

PRAISE FOR THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.—It is a matter of pleasure and encouragement to the publishers and editors of this magazine to find in the editorial columns of the daily press words like the following, taken from the Wichita, Kansas, *Daily Eagle*:

"Among the many periodicals with which the country is flooded, none stand higher, for solid sterling worth than THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS. As a teacher in politics and economics, it is invaluable to the rising generation, from its being confined exclusively to subjects affecting the public welfare. The contributions to the May number are unusually inviting to perusal. 'The True Citizen,' by Egbert L. Briggs, cannot fail to arouse a train of serious reflections in the mind of any one who reads the article, and 'Finance and its Influence Upon Industrial Progress'—in continuation—from Arthur Kitson, deserves to be read for analytical exhaustiveness, and honesty of argument. 'Are We a Nation of Rascals?' a rejoinder, by Hon. Joseph Aker, although somewhat startling may enlighten some minds who are just now groping in thick and confusing darkness, and praying fervently for a golden sunrise. Among other articles worthy of mention is 'The Ethics of the Single Tax' (George Bernard), which throws additional light on the theory which still claims a certain share of public attention."

3211 L